FBIS DAILY REPORT

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'FRIENDSHIP-84' EXERCISES CONTINUE IN POLAND

LD282027 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Feb 84

[Text] In the western and northwestern areas of Poland today, further sections of the "Friendship-84" exercises of the fraternal armies were held. Yesterday evening, the troops of the opponents destroyed all bridges behind them as they withdrew. Subunits which pursued them were aided by soldiers of the engineering troops. [sound of shooting] In a very short time both shores of a deep water obstacle were linked by a pontoon bridge. [sounds of firing] The fording operation by mechanized and armored subunits and artillery lasted several hours. [sounds of firing] This morning, a second group of the exercising armies entered the struggle. After the battle was joined, subunits posing as the enemy moved to a further defensive position.

General Florian Siwicki, candidate member of the Politburo and minister of national defense, arrived at the exercises. He was interested in the results of the training and in the work of the staffs directing the exercising armies. Today was particularly difficult both for the troops and for the commanders. Much physical effort and organizational ability is required to carry out the set tactical tasks as well as possibile. [sounds of firing] Every moment of rest provides an opportunity to deepen friendly contact between the soldiers of the fraternal armies. The time not taken up by their tasks is full of pleasant and interesting meetings and this, among other things, is part of the essence of the tactical exercises in which soldiers of various armies from the Warsaw Pact are taking part.

Siwicki Visits Exercise Area

LD281823 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Feb 84

[Excerpt] General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense, has visited the area of the exercises. He congratulated the soldiers on their high military skills. A number of political and educational activities are being organized during the exercises. They serve to deepen and consolidate the friendship and brotherhood-in-arms between the soldiers of the socialist armies. The exercises are in progress.

UN SECRETARY GENERAL PEREZ DE CUELLAR DEPARTS

AU280833 Sofia BTA in English 0718 GMT 28 Feb 84

[Text] Sofia, Feb 28 (BTA) -- Today Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United Nations Organisation, who was on an official visit at the invitation of the Bulgarian Government, left for home. The distinguished guest was seen off by Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, and high-ranking officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

CUBAN INTERIOR MINISTER MENENDEZ AWARDS STOYANOV

AU282124 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 28 Feb 84

[Text] A ceremony was held at the Cuban Embassy in Sofia tonight at which Ramiro Valdes Menendez, Politburo member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and State Council of Cuba, and minister of the interior, presented the Solidarity Order to Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov, which is conferred to him by the State Council of the Republic of Cuba. The ceremony was attended by Comrades Ognyan Doynov and Andrey Lukanov, as well as by Colonel General Velko Palin, head of the BCP Central Committee Military Department, and by high-ranking officials from the BCP Central Committee and the Ministry of Interior.

ARMY DAILY ASSESSES U.S.-CHINESE RELATIONS

AU271741 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 24 Feb 84 p 4

[Ivan Peev article "PRC-U.S. -- Washington's Technological 'Arguments'"]

[Text] The diplomatic year 1983 was marked by constant decline and only occasional sparks of revival in the American-Chinese dialogue. From a formal point of view there was no lack of "good will" demonstrated by exchanges of visits by such high-ranking officials as George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, Secretary of Commerce Baldridge, and Caspar Weinberger, head of the Pentagon, who visited Beijing in 1983. In October 1983 Wu Xueqian, Chinese minister of foreign affairs, toured the United States and, along with officials from the State Department, he also met and talked with CIA leaders.

Despite numerous warnings from Beijing that the policy of the United States toward Taiwan is likely to go as far as to sever diplomatic relations between the two states, Zhao Ziyang's visit to the United States in January 1984 was a source for numerous guesses regarding the true motivations of constant efforts to intensify the existing relations between the two states.

On the eve of the last presidential elections Ronald Reagan declared that he would revise relations with the PRC and Taiwan based on the principle that "one should never give up an old friend for the sake of a new one." Beijing relied on Carter, but after a new master took over at the White House the Chinese leadership was forced to consider the new state of affairs. Although Reagan announced his candidacy for a second term of office, the Chinese have obviously adopted a wait-and-see position after the return of the PRC State Council from the United States. Under the present circumstances, however, Ronald Reagan's visit to Beijing in April 1984 is certain. Prior to this visit, a series of negotiations are expected to take place between the PRC and the United States at the level of deputy foreign ministers. The American diplomacy is trying to make up for the unpleasant impression created during Zhao Ziyang's visit regarding the double-faced game with Taiwan and the military supplies to that island, even more so since an agreement was signed between China and the United States in August 1982 on the gradual reduction of U.S. military aid to Taiwan.

Obviously, Chinese diplomacy correctly understands Reagan's maneuvers as to the fact that there will be no change in the relations of the United States with Taiwan and China during the year of the presidential election campaign. Consequently, the Chinese are trying to take advantage of the benevolent attitude of U.S. businessmen and politicians in order to extort respective compromises in the sector of economic and technological cooperation. For "dual purpose" technology, the progress in this respect is obvious.

Let us proceed to a chronological analysis of the problem. According to the Pentagon's calculations published in U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT and THE NEW YORK TIMES in 1983, China's "third modernization" (namely in the Army) presupposes the satisfaction of the drastic need for 8,600 modern tanks, 10,000 armored cars, 16-18,000 heavy trucks, 6,000 "air to air" missiles, 720 launching installations for "surface to air" missiles, 240 modern fighter planes, and other types of military equipment. The categorical conclusion of the experts is that China is incapable of making a "shortcut" in this respect through its own efforts. On the contrary, all experts of good faith have come to the conclusion that the technological gap between the Chinese People's Army and the most advanced armies is widening even more and that this is happening to the disadvantage of the Chinese.

Washington's stand on military supplies from the West is of decisive importance for China, because NATO's Coordinating Committee on Export Controls -- the group that is entrusted with the control and specification of certain deliveries for the socialist countries as "strategic" -- cannot adopt even one decision without the consent of the United States. Let us not talk of the civilian economic sector, where, according to Reagan, the U.S. investments already rank first in volume and the United States is China's third largest trading partner.

As early as on 21 July 1980 the Japanese KYODO new agency announced from Tokyo that the delivery of U.S. helicopters, radar equipment, and transport equipment are expected in China. According to a Lockheed representative the U.S. Government allowed this corporation to open negotiations on the sale of Hercules 130 aircraft. Other firms, such as Bell Helicopter Textron, and McDonnell Douglas, Boeing, and United Technology, and the Sperry Corporation immediately started negotiations with Chinese representatives. According to preliminary data, the volume of deliveries outstripped $1 billion. During the same year the Americans officially lifted the ban on sales of modern weapons, following negotiations between Geng Biao, the former Chinese minister of defense, and his American colleague Harold Brown. The supplies of equipment for testing jet engines were agreed upon. The Chinese demonstrated great interest in F-18 aircraft and helicopters from the Bell Company, while the United States Technology [as published] Corporation was entrusted with the delivery of jet engines of the Pratt and Whitney type. Deng Ziaoping declared that China would purchase fighter planes if "the United States will have the courage to offer them," adding as follows: "Our policy toward the United States is strategic." The Boeing aircraft sold to China for civilian purposes are equipped with self-guidance systems, just like certain U.S. missiles.

Ronald Reagan announced on 17 January 1983 that an agreement has been reached between the PRC and the United States on the sale of a station for the reception and processing of geological information through the Landsat space satellite system. It was confirmed on the American side that the system can be used for military purposes as well. Ji Chadzhu, counselor at the Chinese Embassy in Washington, announced that the PRC is envisaged including as many as 3,000 items of modern technical equipment in its imports in order to quadruple its priority industrial production. Most of the "equipment of the 70's" can be imported only from the United States, he added.

Certain American politicans expressed concern about the way in which the Chinese used American and other technology. As a result of the Chinese premier's visit, for example, important agreements were signed in the scientific and technological sectors, as well as in nuclear cooperation and communications. Zhao Ziyang stated as follows in an interview with THE WASHINGTON POST: "If the United States wishes to sell some weapons to China, and if China needs these weapons and has the money to buy them, then we will purchase them. Specific matters are now still under discussion, however." The XINHUA NEWS AGENCY accounced in a commentary that the premier voiced his satisfaction that "the United States expressed the wish to sell weapons to China, which it was unwilling to do in the past." The same source announced a "probable, imminent visit" of Zhang Aiping, minister of national defense, to the United States to clarify this question, since in September 1983 consultations were conducted between him and Caspar Weinberger in Beijing.

Many authoritative representatives of the Pentagon expressed themselves against Reagan's attempts to neutralize the Chinese dissatisfaction in connection with his stand on Taiwan through playing the "military-technological card." Their thoughts in this respect are along the following lines: The possibility exists that China may use the goods produced by American nuclear centers for military goals and that it may eventually resell the "dual purpose" goods to third countries. Zhao Ziyang declared that the technology in question will be used solely for peaceful purposes and that agreements on possible limitations will be observed on the Chinese side.

It is an incontestable fact that China's economic and technological backwardness, even more intensified by the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," cannot be overcome only on the basis of the principle of "relying on one's own strength." There are tremendous prospects for economic cooperation between the PRC and other advanced countries, including the United States, which always considered China its own "traditional" market.

In this case Reagan is playing a card in view of the forthcoming elections, by which he is trying to neutralize the dissatisfaction existing in the United States about his pronounced pro-Taiwan policy, which has caused great regress in American-Chinese relations, and evokes criticism even among such loyal allies as the Japanese. The future will show how the U.S. President will further manipulate these problems, in particular if Reagan succeeds in winning a second term of office in the next elections.

ARMY UNIT ACCOUNTABILITY-ELECTION CONFERENCE

AU282000 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Feb 84 p 2

[Colonel Georgi Atanasov and Colonel Stefan Rikov report on an accountability-election conference of the BCP organization in a detachment of the Bulgarian People's Army "where Officer Bosev is serving," including report on speech at the conference by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of national defense -- time and place of conference not given]

[Text] The accountability-election conference of the Communists in the detachment where Officer Bosev is serving proceeded in a businesslike and energetic spirit and with a demonstration of political maturity.

The following officials participated in the work of the conference: Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of national defense; Colonel General Velko Palin, head of the BCP Central Committee Military Administrative Department; Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, deputy minister of national defense; Lieutenant General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the People's Army Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army; Colonel General Boris Karamfilov, deputy minister of national defense; as well as numerous generals, officers, petty officers, and soldiers.

Colonel General Vladimir Yakushin, representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces to the Bulgarian People's Army, was also among those present at the conference.

The delegates to the conference paid tribute to the memory of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, the remarkable leader of the Leninist party and the Soviet state, the great fighter for peace on our planet, and outstanding Marxist-Leninist, by standing up and observing 1 minute of silence.

Officer Bosev's report and the statements of the delegates can be briefly described as an accurate evaluation of the hitherto accomplished activities. The great requirements toward the training of commanders, staff, and troops, as well as an accurate coping with our alarming present-day situation were laid down at the basis of a thorough analysis of the specific trends pursued in the report and statement. The conclusion was perhaps not accidental that in the recent period the leading party links have been striving to more deeply penetrate into the problems of army life and to endow their comprehensive activities with praiseworthy perseverance, creative spirit, and initiative. This was the motivation for the main report to devote more attention to the skill of the majority of political detachments, party committees, and organizations in a timely way to draw the attention of the Communists to problems directly linked to the training and education of the Army personnel.

As it was pointed out, the majority of the Communists have succeeded in understanding, studying, and implementing the party decisions and in grasping the essence of these decisions, as well as unhesitatingly applying them in their own work. In this respect the most perfect forms of work have been sought with the help of which the tasks stemming from the party decisions would be implemented.

The successes achieved cannot fail to evoke a justified feeling of pride. However, they are mainly the result of joint efforts of commanders and political workers, together with the activities of party organizations, in striving more fully to understand, specify, and implement the tasks stemming from the decisions adopted at the 12th BCP Congress, and later on, from Comrade Todor Zhivkov's works and theoretical writings. In this respect many detachments have discussed important aspects and questions pertaining to the problems of improving the quality of the training process, intensifying the soldiers' work, and raising the combat readiness of the troops. Many Communists, such as the Comrades Dobrev, Tsotsov, Minchev, Simeonov, and others, have greatly contributed to improving the quality of administrative activities, which is an important aspect in raising the standard of combat readiness. The detachments in which Officers Yovchev and Ivanoc are serving have marked a certain improvement in this respect as well.

The general striving of the Communists was to utilize more fully the intensive factors of training hours, to improve the quality of the training process, and constantly to improve the training and material basis. As it was stressed, considerable attention was devoted to the skill of the Communists Panayotov, Neshev, Iliev, Stefanov, and certain others, in rendering more direct and skilled assistance to their subordinates. This care inspires and gives impetus. It enables the officers to become aware of their mistakes and shortcomings and to seek the causes that permit such shortcomings to occur, as well as to promptly eliminate them.

This question has another aspect: improving organizational work. As the report and the statements of the Communists Dimitrov, Marinov, and Dobrev have confirmed, efficient planning and a strict distribution of responsibilities among commanders and political workers in implementing the tasks assigned to them are among the most important factors in this case. Therefore, the role of political detachments and party committees is considerable in this respect. This demands that we think more thoroughly about the full involvement of the soldiers and about enhancing even more their sense of responsibility.

The general striving throughout the period under review has been to conduct the overall organizational, party, and political work in conformity with the increased demands, as well as with a more comprehensive encompassing of all aspects of the soldiers' service. Measures have been adopted to enhance the role of the staff party organizations. Nevertheless, despite all these successes, not everything has been fully accomplished. Certain shortcomings have manifested themselves in the leadership and implementation of the training processes, shortcomings have occurred in tank and firing exercises, and the implementation of certain tasks involving great responsibility demonstrated that the overall party work must be in conformity with the demands of our time.

The report, as well as part of the statements, correctly pointed out that as a result of the intensified and comprehensive work of the party organizations the political consciousness and responsibility of many cadres have increased. However, the explosive international situation requires that everything be evaluated from the point of view of contemporary combat, that no reconciliation with shortcomings and satisfaction with mediocre results be tolerated. The existence of such shortcomings during the period under review proves that the influence of the party has not always reached the consciousness of every Communist and that there are still many unutilized reserves in the activities of political organs and party organizations. The underestimation of certain training factors, the failure to use the competitive method in training, the unsatisfactory personal approach, and the shortcomings in observing training regulations -- all these things require an essential and drastic change in the work of political organs and party organizations so that it may conform to the increased requirements.

Naturally, these shortcomings can be overcome since they stem from certain shortcomings in the style and leadership methods of individual Communists -- commanders and political workers. If the circumstances under which they are working change, if the party organizations become more active, then the tasks will be successfully resolved. In expressing this thought, we can cite words of Officer Khristo Dobrev as follows: "We must work in such a manner as to conform to the programmatic speech delivered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the Varna national conference. The quality criterion for the armed services must be particularly high. It must lead to drastic changes in a positive direction as regards the problems of quality in the soldiers' work and as regards the quality of army life as a whole."

In other words, this requirement demands that achievements in various activities of army life fully conform to the increased criteria. Not the quantity but the quality indexes should prevail. It is in this direction, precisely, that the efforts of all party organizations, political workers, and all party members should be focused. This is why the efforts of the Communists in all areas -- as Officers Tishkov, Velev, Stefanov, and Bankov pointed out -- must be directly aimed at work with the people, at searching for personal responsibility and at rendering active assistance. In this respect it is necessary to apply a comprehensive approach and to exert influence for actively changing the situation in a positive direction. Skilled actions must be required from the subordinates under the most complicated conditions.

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of national defense, made an extensive statement on these important questions. After greeting the participants in the conference on behalf of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and on behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, Comrade Dzhurov briefly dwelled on the complicated international situation, which has been aggravated through the fault of the United States and NATO imperialist forces.

He dealt in more detail with certain questions concerning quality and discipline with which the forthcoming national party conference will deal. The solution of the quality problem within the Army means to raise the troops' standards of combat readiness to such a high level as to ensure a successful implementation of tasks, the minister of national defense pointed out. He also dwelled on the factors on which high quality depends.

High quality in the training of troops, above all, depends on the role of the subjective factor, namely on the knowledge, the innermost conviction, and particularly on the line of behavior of this factor in resolving the tasks it is facing, Army General Dobri Dzhurov stated. In the Army this means, above all, to increase the sense of responsibility of army personnel, to mobilize its efforts, knowledge and skill, and to transform army personnel into a force capable of implementing the high requirements imposed by the country's defense.

In this connection I would like to dwell on one of the main requirements of the activity of the subjective factor -- namely a high state of personal organization in all things and in all places. I am talking about constructive thought, about constructive views and the practical solution of any task assigned and of any problem that has emerged. A badly organized commander, political worker, staff officer, or party secretary, no matter how talented and skilled, regardless of his great experience, is not only incapable of any self-realization and of fully developing army life, but he also exerts a negative impact on all the army personnel under his charge. He distorts the consciousness of the personnel and disorganizes all their actions, and he creates distorted ideas about the strength of military organization.

Another important requirement is that the subjective factor must wage a struggle against noisy and vain verbosity. This is a source of evil which prevents good ideas and solutions from being implemented in real life, it is an evil that repels people and develops a formalistic approach to important questions of training and the troops' combat readiness.

Certain ambitions of commanders, political workers, and party and Komsomol leaderships to "shine" by some brilliant deed, to amaze others with their "example," frequently bore the soldiers' collective, deprive certain measures of their meaning and value, and cause justifiable indifference among army personnel. V.I. Lenin called similar self-centered demonstrations of zeal (which cause noise without producing any practical results) fruitless, hectic behavior.

The roots of this evil are based on the following two sources:

The first source is the insufficient sense of moderation in certain people who cannot discern the limit between the use and harm of a certain manifestation, connected with their selfish striving for personal performance.

The second source is based on formalism, on unconscious or conscious deception. It is also true that we are still under the influence of an old habit which we have not overcome, namely to judge people on the basis of their eloquence and the verbosity of their statements, on the basis of their skill in presenting their reports and accounts in a convincing and billiant manner.

The following requirement addressed to the work of the subjective factor is the necessity of ideologization in all spheres of military life. This ideologization gives meaning to all military activities and helps the soldiers understand our relations, the scope and responsibility involved in the tasks we are now solving in the Army.

Second, there is a very important factor for settling quality problems within the Army -- this is the commander's organizational work. There are numerous important aspects and factors in organizational work that are obligatory in peacetime as well as under combat conditions. The method of the commanding-organizational work in the Army has its traditions and has been explained both for peacetime and combat conditions. It includes a clarification of tasks, an evaluation of the situation, the adoption of decisions, planning and organization, as well as implementation, control, and assistance in estimating results.

I will only dwell on a few of these requirements.

An intensified study and clarification of the meaning of the task assigned is an important duty for every commander and political worker. There are, however, individual comrades who fail to thoroughly analyze the party decisions and service documents, who are inacapable of creatively determining the tasks stemming from the sector in which they are working. In this respect the role of senior commanders, staff, and political organs should not be restricted only to information on the tasks; they are required to thoroughly study the meaning of the tasks and documents, to specify them for each service area.

The organization of the practical implementation of tasks remains the most crucial factor in the work of commanders, staffs, and political organs, as well as party leaderships.

Comrade Dobri Dzhurov further dwelled on control and assistance to the troops on the part of the commanders and political links. They must always understand the profound meaning of control activities, which does not consist only of having some idea about the implementation of the tasks assigned and drawing certain conclusions, he stated. This of course, is necessary as well, but the main, the basic thing is that each control activity should lead to a change in the atmosphere for the better, which means to render the correct kind of assistance -- namely, a competent, differentiated, specific assistance, on the spot in the practical work connected with the implementation of a given task.

The minister of national defense further dwelled on the development of officers' cadres, on the role and place of the senior officers' staff, on the training of the officers' staff in the tactical area. The present-day commanders, political organs and party leading bodies must assist the young officers to understand the political meaning of their tasks and to live with them, to become aware of the internal development of our country and of the international situation, to stimulate themselves and others for an efficient implementation of tasks.

Third, the core of the struggle for high quality is represented by discipline in the largest sense of the word. There can be no question of an efficient implementation of tasks within the Army if army life is not based on strict training regulations, and on iron-hard military discipline. In the struggle for high quality we have one strong weapon -- discipline in its widest sense, along all lines of our leading activities (planning, organization, control, assistance, analysis, and so forth). You all are aware of the fact that in many cases poor discipline in certain detachments, nonobservance of regulations, orders, instructions, courses, and weekly schedules, and other such things rapidly undermine the successes achieved with great efforts in training and combat readiness. Poor discipline is an obstacle to the improvement of training and to the full utilization of combat possibilities in armaments and technical equipment.

The violators of discipline are robbing the collective in which they work, they are depriving the army personnel of their working achievements, and therefore no leniency and no compromises should be tolerated in their case. Strictness must be resolutely increased. All those commanders, political workers, party and Komsomol leading bodies who with their passive attitude and lack of action contribute to the thriving of discipline violators should be held responsible.

Army General Dobri Dzhurov closed his address by appealing to the participants in the conference and through them to the Communists and soldiers to transform the days preceding the national party conference and the days preceding the celebrations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the 9 September revolution and the 40th anniversary of the Bulgarian People's Army into days of lofty political work, of selfless soldiers' efforts in order to raise the detachments' combat readiness to a higher level.

The conference proceeded in the spirit of the contemporary requirements. It thoroughly analyzed the work of the party organizations and Communists on topical issues of further improving the training and combat readiness of the detachments.

REPORTAGE ON PLEVEN, BURGAS BCP CONFERENCES

AU271656 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 25 February carries on page 6 two reports on okrug-level BCP organization conferences. One item is a 300-word report from Pleven on the 25th accountability-election conference of the Pleven Okrug BCP organization, which was attended by Petur Mladenov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs.

"In his address Comrade Petur Mladenov positively assessed the work of the Pleven Okrug BCP organization during the last 3 years. He stressed that the basic criteria for the Communists' quality of work are the congress decisions and practical approach developed in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's works following the congress." Stefan Ninov was reelected first secretary of the Pleven Okrug BCP Committee.

The second item is a 350-word report from Burgas on the 12th accountability-election conference of the Burgas Okrug BCP organization, which was attended by Ognyan Doynov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, as well as minister of machine building industry.

"Comrade Ognyan Doynov in his address positively evaluated the work of the okrug party organization, which is successfuly coping with the task involving high responsibility for an accelerated development of one of the country's largest okrugs. He stressed the contribution of the Communists to the constant increase of industrial and agricultural production and to the stable and dynamic rates of the entire economic development in this area." Nikolay Zhishev was reelected to the post of first secretary of the Burgas Okrug BCP Committee.

PREMIER STROUGAL RETURNS FROM ASIAN TRIP

AU281455 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Feb 84 p 1

[Text] Prague Rangoon (CTK) -- CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal returned on Saturday evening from his visit to India and Burma, which took place at the invitation of Indira Gandhi, prime minister of the Republic of India, and of U Maung Maung Kha, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma.

The chairman of the federal government and the members of his entourage were welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by CSSR Deputy Premiers Josef Korcak, Karol Laco, Matej Lucan, Jaromir Obzina, and Svatopluk Potac; CSSR Minister of Interior Vratislav Vajnar; and other government figures.

Nedungottu Philip Alexander, ambassador of the Republic of India to the CSSR, and U Thei Lwin [name as published], charge d'affaires ad interim of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma to the CSSR, were also present.

Burma Visit Strengthens Ties

AU281457 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Feb 84 p 6

["Joint Press Report" issued in Rangoon on 25 February, at the close of CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal's visit to Burma]

[Text] Rangoon, 25 Feb (CTK) -- CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal paid an official visit to Burma from 23 to 25 February 1984 at the invitation of U Maung Maung Kha, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma. He was accompanied by Ladislav Gerle, CSSR deputy premier; Bohumil Urban, CSSR minister of foreign trade; and Jindrich Rehorek, first CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs.

CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal was received by U San Yu, president of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma.

The talks between the two heads of government were conducted in an atmosphere of traditional friendship and mutual understanding. The heads of government assessed Czechoslovak-Burmese relations and the prospects of further mutual cooperation. They also exchanged views on important international issues.

The two statesmen expressed their satisfaction with the successful development of relations between Czechoslovakia and Burma so far, especially with the continuous progress in the joint construction of industrial projects. They stressed the bilateral wish to continue to develop relations on the basis of mutual respect and understanding, equality, and traditional friendship and to continue efforts to further strengthen mutually beneficial economic cooperation.

The talks on international issues confirmed the interest of both sides in preserving world peace, halting the arms race, strengthening international cooperation, and maintaining and deepening the process of easing international tension. The two heads of government expressed their grave concern at the present tension in international relations and the threat to world peace and security arising from it. They consider the policy of imperialism, neocolonialism, and hegemonism as well as other forms of domination inadmissible in international relations.

They share the view that the preservation of peace is a prerequisite for the survival of mankind, and therefore welcome all initiatives and effective measures aimed at eliminating the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, strengthening international security, and halting the arms race, especially in the nuclear field. They are convinced that there are no problems, global or regional, that cannot be equitably resolved by peaceful means. They expressed the will of the people of their countries to contribute to ensuring lasting peace.

In assessing the international economic situation, the two sides proceed from the conviction that lasting peace and a reduction of tension in the world constitute the basic prerequisite for improving economic cooperation, which must be based on the principles of justice, equality, and mutual advantage. They reconfirmed that they support the building of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis as well as the setting up of a new international economic order.

The cordial and frank talks between the two heads of government contributed to further strengthening the friendly ties between the peoples of the two countries and yielded new impetus for further cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Burma.

During his stay in Burma, the CSSR premier and his entourage visited some historical and cultural sites and the tractor production plant in Malungu, which is being built on the basis of an agreement on economic cooperation between the two countries.

The CSSR premier conveyed sincere thanks for the manifestations of friendship with the CSSR expressed in the course of his visit by Burmese representatives and the people of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma.

CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal invited U Maung Maung Kha, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, to pay an official visit to the CSSR. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

PREMIER STROUGAL RECEIVES USSR AMBASSADOR

LD281133 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 28 Feb 84

[Text] Premier Lubomir Strougal today in Prague received the Soviet ambassador Aleksandr Botvin. They discussed questions concerning further development of political and economic relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

SACKING OF USSR COMBINE DIRECTOR 'INSTRUCTIVE'

AU271651 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 24 February carries on page 6 a 1,700 word article by Moscow correspondent Vladimir Divis entitled "When the Train Is Driving Off; Why a Meritorious Director Had To Leave His Post." The article, which is based on an undated Moscow IZVESTIYA article, describes the case of Otar Suladze, former director of the metallurgical combine in Rustavi near Tbilisi, who has recently been "released" from that post, despite "great merits" for which he once received the Order of Lenin and the Order of the Red Banner. On the basis of statements made by Suladze and by Eduard Shevardnadze, first secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee, to IZVESTIYA correspondents and at an unspecified session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, the article traces the reasons for the deteriorating performance of the Rustavi combine in the past few years, which ultimately led to Suladze's "release."

Divis notes that Suladze "was simply no longer able to keep abreast of the requirements of the time." He stresses that "he was not punished along party lines" because "there was no reason to do so" and that he continues to work in a different, "albeit not leading," function in which he can make use of his "profound expertise" and "rich practical experience."

Drawing a conclusion, Divis says: "The case of Director Suladze is in many respects instructive for other leading economic workers as well. In the USSR, everyone is respected for past merits, for successes in many years of honest work. However, one cannot live from this capital indefinitely. In the Soviet Union, far greater emphasis than in the past is now being placed on an intensive and dynamic development of the country's economy. Sensitive and well-thought-out work with cadres is thus assuming particular importance. He who cannot cope with the tasks entrusted to him, whose train is driving off without him, no matter what the reasons may be, must logically reckon with being recalled or transferred to a less responsible post. This is what the times are dictating."

BOOK BY USSR'S PONOMAREV REVIEWED, RECOMMENDED

AU281645 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 24 February carries on page 4 a 900-word Jaroslav Mazal book review in the "Our Review" column, entitled "Communism and the Present World." The review deals with the book "Communism in the Changing World" by Academician Boris Ponomarev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and secretary, published in Czech translation by the Svoboda Publishing House. The author is said to have already produced "many studies with weighty thoughts on the topical issues of the world revolutionary process and on the international communist and workers movement." The book is characterized as "remarkable and topical," and the Czech edition is said to have a preface by the author himself.

The book, intended to "provide an objective and truthful answer" to people interested in the issues of socialism and communism, and to many questions put by "political and social figures of many countries" during meetings with the author, is divided into "three mutually complementary parts." The first, "On the Theory of Scientific Communism," is said to explain the origins and development of scientific communism, analyze Marxism's ideological sources and Lenin's role in its development, and "show how this supreme social science was, and still is, being enriched" after Lenin and also how it "enables us to correctly grasp the new phenomena and processes in the life of contemporary society throughout the world."

The author is said to point out that "Leninism is not merely a theory," and that the "contents of Marxism-Leninism" do "not consist of merely the verbal and written statements by Marx, Engels, and Lenin." He is said to point out that Marxism-Leninism is a "science expressing the world outlook of the workers class and the collective wisdom of this class and its communist vanguard" and that Leninism, as "direct heir to Marx's and Engels' theory," is an "international doctrine that is not only valid for this or that area," but also "reveals the general laws of capitalism as a system, and the general laws governing the society's transition from capitalism to socialism, to the socialist revolution, and to the building of socialism."

In the chapter on "Scientific Communism and the Present," the author is said to prove, by citing current social processes, that mankind and the world are developing according to Marx and Lenin.

The second part of the book, "Real Socialism, the Fruit of the 20th Century," is said to define the term "real socialism" and to analyze the relationship between real socialism and the preservation of peace.

The third part of the book is said to deal with the "topical problems of the contemporary communist movement," to "analyze the relationship between patriotism and internationalism as two vitally interconnected aspects of the Communists' revolutionary policy," and also to "take note of certain mistakes and deviations which the communist movement has had to overcome in the course of its history."

The conclusion of the book is said to explain how Marxists imagine mankind's future. Here the author is said to suggest that the needs of people will be fulfilled according to the "communist principle of distribution," and that people will be sufficiently educated to resist unreasonable demands.

Mazal concludes his review by "warmly recommending" the book to the public, especially as a "supremely qualified reply to many topical questions of the present."

INDRA WRITES ON LENINISM, PARTY-PEOPLE BONDS

AU281541 Prague TRIBUNA No 8 in Czech 22 Feb 84 p 3

[Article by Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly: "Toward Bolshevik Activity"]

[Excerpts] Our adversaries -- defenders of capitalism and revisionists and opportunists of all shades -- do not stop attacking the history of our party. Without bothering to study it, without examining facts, objective and subjective influences, and -- above all -- the results of political struggles, they claim that the CPCZ's history is an uninterrupted chain of mistakes and errors, manifestations of weakness, defeats, infighting between factions, and foreign interference. The party's fifth congress is a particularly indigestible tidbit for them. They do not realize that, by attacking it, they are writing a good testimonial for it in the minds of the workers class and the working people.

The years of building a socialist society have confirmed that the basic ideas of the Fifth CPCZ Congress have lost none of their relevance -- respect for new tasks under new conditions provided, naturally. What matters, in essence, is always the party's bolshevik activity. For us, bolshevism (how much effort have our enemies exerted to discredit this term!) is synonymous with Leninism. The cornerstone of all our successes has always been a prudent application of Lenin's doctrine, which includes -- in addition to universally valid principles of a socialist revolution -- the premise of diverse roads to socialism, the need to respect specific national features and the independence of each revolutionary party, and the party's responsibility not only before its own people, but also before the world revolutionary movement. The priority given to the solution of one's own tasks must not lead to any "national isolation" of revolutionary parties; violations of the principle of proletarian internationalism are damaging to the interests of socialist revolution. Unfortunately, we know from our own experience examples of the ruinous consequences of deviating from Leninism both as a revolutionary doctrine and a style of work. Underestimation of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, pragmatism and empty routine, suppression of criticism and self-criticism, cultivation of the personality cult, disrespect for the principles of collective leadership and personal accountability, and uncritical self-satisfaction -- all this ultimately leads to the party's isolation from the people, to the loss of its authority. Many of these phenomena caused the mistakes of the first decade of socialist construction and in their most acute form became apparent toward the end of the 1960's when floodgates were opened for rightwing revisionist criticism, hand in hand with which went the counterrevolutionary current. The allies' assistance established prerequisites for conscious Communists and genuine patriots to join forces in the struggle to save socialism and in the endeavor to correct the political, but also economic, damage.

Along the Leninist Path

At its April session in 1969 (the 15th anniversary of which we will mark this year), by electing Gustav Husak to lead it, the Central Committee took a decisive step toward overcoming the crisis in party and society. The party purposefully returned to restoring fundamental socialist values, finding in the Marxist-Leninist doctrine a point of departure for solving the complex problems. By strengthening the ties of alliance with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community it ensured security of the state and conditions for the work of our people in peace. It was not by coincidence that the Central Committee laid down as one of its basic tasks Gottwald's "Face the Masses." After all, the party can only fulfill its historical mission as the leading force of the socialist society in unity with the people, with their understanding and active support. And only such party members who are distinguished by their ideological maturity, political awareness, exemplary life and work, and respect for laws and moral norms are capable of enlisting their fellow citizens' support for the party's policy. That is why the party sees to the purity of its ranks -- and this not merely in one-time actions following periods of severe tests. That is why it sees to the growth in the number of workers and cooperative farmers among its members. That is why it is paying paramount attention to the young generation. Bonds with the people can be cemented only by a party that is capable of action -- that is, by a party that is ideologically, politically, and organizationally united.

The results of the past 15 years have been contingent on respect for the Leninist forms of party life, on observance of the principles of internal party democracy and democratic centralism. Principled criticism and the development of self-criticism are the inalienable right and duty of every party member. Ideological struggle, too, is a permanently valid law -- the suppression of revisionism as well as opportunism, opportunism not only as a political current but also as a manifestation of the inconsistent application of party policy in practice.

The party's links with the people -- this fundamental requirement of Leninism -- also find their expression in the care for and in the perfection and deepening of socialist democracy. No one has the least right to circumvent the basic article of our Constitution: "All power in the CSSR belongs to the working people." The party considers it its duty to create optimal conditions for the participation of the broadest possible strata of the people in administering public affairs, including management of the economy. The entire system of representative bodies should fulfill, above all, its political mission -- its activity should serve the people, express their fundamental interests, and lead to the strengthening of the socialist state. It is also essential to make possible increasingly intensive participation in management through agencies of the National Front and social organizations. Every honest person in our country has the chance to take part in dealing with public affairs. Everyone can assert his ideas, talents, and industry. However, the wide-ranging rights of our citizens must never be separated from their obligations, which are determined by existing laws and the rules of socialist coexistence. Laws simply must apply to everyone.

In the party's bolshevik -- and thus Leninist -- activity and in its close bonds with the people arising from it also lies the key to solving all our present tasks in building an advanced socialist society. This involves a broad gamut of problems ranging from economic and social policy, education and culture, political-educational activity, stepping up the activity of the entire National Front, and strengthening the moral and political unity of the people, to foreign policy and perfection of the country's defense. The basic line was clearly set by the 16th CPCZ Congress and detailed by the Central Committee and its Presidium. The order of the day is to concentrate all forces of the party and the skills and abilities of our people on the consistent fulfillment of this line at all work places, within the realm of activity of individual party bodies and organizations.

Even in the present international political atmosphere, which is full of unrest, we have conditions for concentrated building work, owing to our alliance with the countries of the socialist community, expecially the Soviet Union. Its consistent policy of peace and mighty economic and defense potential ensure the inviolability of our borders and peace and quiet for our homes. Active support for the foreign policy of the USSR, cooperation with developing countries, assistance to national liberation movements, and confidence in the determination of millions of fighters for peace all over the world -- this, too, is a legacy of the fifth congress, whose participants convincingly endorsed the principles of proletarian internationalism and regarded the Soviet Union as an example for us and a hope for progressive mankind.

We proudly identify with the basic ideas of the Fifth CPCZ Congress because the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism serves as a permanent compass for us. It is the best guarantee that we will not leave the path of socialism and that we will successfully continue the work, the solid foundations for which were laid by the delegates to the fifth congress 55 years ago -- the work to which Comrade Klement Gottwald dedicated his entire life.

BRIEFS

COOPERATION PROTOCOL WITH USSR -- The 35th session of the standing subcommission for scientific and technical cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union ended yesterday in Prague with the signing of a final protocol. The session discussed and approved the basic guidelines for long-term cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in science and technology up to the year 2000 and the principal subject-matter of scientific and technical cooperation between both countries for the years 1986-1990. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0330 GMT 25 Feb 84 LD]

CUBAN ACADEMICIAN VISITS -- Ladislav Gerle, deputy federal premier, today in Prague received Ismael Clark, deputy chairman of the Cuban Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Cuban side of a subcommission for scientific-technological cooperation to date, which contributes to accelerated scientific-technological development in both countries and in particular to solving a number of problems in agriculture and medicine. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 17 Feb 84 LD]

FRG YOUTH DELEGATION -- A delegation of the Federal German Youth Ring of the FRG ended its visit to Czechoslovakia and left Prague today. At a press conference at the close of the visit, Jaroslav Jeneral, chairman of the Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth, praised the content of the deliberations between the representatives of the two youth organizations and characterized the visit as a significant contribution to the further development of cooperation. Rudolf Helfrich, chairman of the German Youth Ring stressed the organization's determination to make an active contribution to strengthening world peace and averting the danger of war. He spoke against the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe and stressed the urgent need to halt the arms race. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 17 Feb 84 LD]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO INDONESIA -- Gustav Husak, president of the republic, appointed Richard Kral the extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of Czechoslovakia to the Republic of Indonesia. At the same time he decided to recall Milan Koudelka from that post. [Text] [Prague Domestic Servide in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 21 Feb 84 LD]

STOPH REJECTS 'INSINUATIONS' ON BERG DEFECTION

LD281332 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1257 GMT 28 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 28 Feb (ADN) -- In connection with a campaign of slander staged by the FRG media and directed against the GDR, the press office of the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers is authorized to state that Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers Willi Stoph has nothing to do with the actions of the Berg family. He rejects all such insinuations.

It appears that forces in the FRG that are hostile to detente want to further burden relations between the two German states with cold-war practices. All attempts of this kind are condemned to failure. In the future, the GDR will continue its efforts to normalize relations between the GDR and the FRG to reduce tensions and preserve peace.

Berg-Stoph Connection Denied

LD282117 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1300 GMT 28 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 28 Feb (ADN) -- It has been learned from the appropriate authorities that the family of Hans-Dieter Berg, who is presently a guest with his family at the FRG Embassy in Prague, has, contrary to his claims, no connection at all with Premier Willi Stoph. According to the files of the appropriate police department, Berg is a person who, despite his young years (35), has lived a very eventful life. Berg had already spent some time in West Berlin when he was 15 years old and went afterward to France to join the Foreign Legion. Having returned to West Berlin, he was sentenced to some time in prison for several crimes. In 1965, he completed an apprenticeship in Karlsruhe as a gas fitter and plumber. In August 1965, he escaped from the FRG to the GDR. Because of his antisocial past, he was placed in a youth workshop. Since 1967, he had worked as a gas fitter and plumber in his father's factory and since 1970 he worked for the municipal housing authority in Berlin-Koepenick. Since 1974, he has had his own private shop in the Doenigs Wusterhausen district where he employs 5 workers. Berg has been married twice, the second time to Ingrid Berg, nee Stoph.

MILITARY DELEGATION CONCLUDES VISIT TO INDIA

LD281701 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1305 GMT 28 Feb 84

[Text] Delhi, 28 Feb (ADN) -- A delegation of the National People's Army (NVA) of the GDR, led by Colonel General Wolfgang Reinhold, GDR deputy defense minister and chief of the Air Force/Air Defense of the NVA, ended a visit of several days to India on Monday. During its visit, the GDR military delegation visited teaching institutions, staffs, and troop units of the Indian Air Force in various states of the union. It also visited leading industrial enterprises of the country's state industry. A dinner, which GDR Ambassador Heinz Birch gave in Delhi, was attended by the chief of the Indian Air Force, Air Marshal Dilbagh Singh, generals, and high-ranking officers, as well as by leading members of staff of the Indian foreign and defense ministries.

TISCH RECEIVES WFTU GENERAL SECRETARY ZAKARIYA

AU281529 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Feb 84 p 2

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN) -- Over the weekend [25-26 February], Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive Committee, received for a friendly talk in Berlin Ibrahim Zakariya, WFTU general secretary.

During a comprehensive exchange of views which took place in complete agreement, Harry Tisch reported on the tasks and initiatives of the FDGB in the 35th year of the GDR. In this connection, he called the great achievements of the working people in the socialist competition an important prerequisite for the further successful continuation of the SED policy to benefit the people and to secure peace.

SPD COMMISSION DELEGATION VISITS 23-25 FEB

AU272027 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25/26 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- A delegation of the Commission on Basic Values of the SPD Executive Committee headed by its chairman, Erhard Eppler, member of the SPD Executive Committee, is staying in the GDR 23-25 February for a discussion. The exchange of views centers on problems resulting from the technological developments for the work and the working conditions of the working people in both German states. On the SPD side, the discussion was attended by Richard Loewenthal, deputy chairman of the commission; and members of the Commission on Basic Values Guenter Berkelmann, Iring Fetscher, Klaus Mehrens, Thomas Meyer, Johano Strasser, and Burkhard Reichert, secretary of the commision.

On the SED side, there were the Central Committee members Otto Reinhold, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the SED Central Committee, and Erich Hahn, as well as other social scientists.

HONECKER, STOPH GREET LIBYAN OFFICIALS ON ELECTION

AU280803 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, has sent a telegram to Miftah al-Usta 'Umar, secretary of the Secretariat of the General People's Committee of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, in Tripoli. The message reads:

On the occasion of your appointment as secretary of the Secretariat of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, I convey to you cordial congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the people of the GDR.

I take the opportunity to express the conviction that the relations between our people will further strengthen and develop in the interest of securing peace and to our mutual benefit.

At the same time, accept my best wishes for creative vigor, personal well-being, and success in your responsible work to the benefit of the Libyan people.

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, also sent cordial congratulations to the newly appointed secretary of the General People's Committee of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, Muhammad az-Zarruq Rajab, on his taking office.

KADAR CITED ON IMPACT OF ANDROPOV'S DEATH

PM290911 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 23 Feb 84 p 4

[Richard Swartz dispatch: "Bodstrom Told: Collective Government in The Kremlin"]

[Text] Budapest -- Yuriy Andropov's death does not mean any changes in Moscow's policies, which are now being shaped by a collective leadership.

Hungarian party chief Janos Kadar said this yesterday in talks with Swedish Foreign Minister Lennart Bodstrom on the final day of the first visit from the West at this level to a Warsaw Pact state since Andropov's funeral. According to Kadar, it will take a long time before the leadership collective under Konstantin Chernenko in Moscow gives its own profile to Soviet policy -- and, according to Kadar, Washington will also be primarily occupied with internal problems up to the presidential election this fall, and for this reason people should not count on a rapid improvement in the international political climate.

Kadar is thought to have been both personally and politically close to Andropov, and during Andropov's short time in power, Hungary was given permission to continue its cautious reforms.

Several Hungarian sources here have told SVENSKA DAGBLADET that these reforms are not threatened by the change of leader in the Kremlin. Kadar's great emphasis on collective leadership also seems to confirm the last few days' reports from Moscow that Chernenko's accession to power was prepared well in advance during Andropov's lengthy illness, and that he is most likely "primus inter pares" in a leadership collective in which 52-year-old Mikhail Gorbachev is already being built up as his future successor.

During Bodstrom's 2-day official visit both sides expressed serious concern over the world situation and stressed the need for continued dialogue and mutual trust between East and West. Both sides are agreed that neither Moscow nor Washington has any intention of starting a war, but according to Kadar the danger of war lies primarily in the superpowers' being drawn into local conflicts where "semimilitary" groups have an influence disproportionate to their knowledge of the actual situation.

In talks with Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, Bodstrom stressed Sweden's determination to defend its sovereignty against all intrusions, despite rising costs, and described the hunt for foreign submarines in Swedish waters as a part of this policy.

Bodstrom said that "no significant bilateral problems" exist between Sweden and Hungary, but hoped that last year's fall in Swedish exports to Hungary would turn out to be temporary. The Swedish General Electric Corporation wants to sell one of its secure nuclear minireactors to Hungary, and LM Ericsson is negotiating the supply of new telephone exchanges; however, an expansion of Swedish exports is made more difficult by Hungary's shortage of hard currency and the difficulties of finding a market for Hungarian products in Sweden.

The growing Western interest in contacts with Budapest is reflected in the list of Swedish politicians expected to visit this year: Prime Minister Olof Palme is expected in the fall, and at some time during the year there will be visits by Finance Minister Kjell-Olof Feldt, Industry Minister Thage G. Peterson, Foreign Trade Minister Mats Hellstrom, and Energy Minister Birgitta Dahl.

R450 MILLION NATURAL GAS CONTRACT WITH USSR

LD232359 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February 23 (MTI) -- Natural gas worth about 450 million roubles is to be supplied by the Soviet Union to Hungary via "Brotherhood" pipeline this year. The contract was signed by Istvan Russay, general manager of Mineralimpex Hungarian Export/Import company, and Yuriy Baranovskiy, general manager of Soyuzgazexport, in Budapest Thursday. The natural gas supply started in 1975 and, by the end of the last year, the total amount supplied, reached more than 20,000 million cubic meters. Soviet natural gas supply is covering more than a third of Hungary's need. Natural gas imported from the Soviet Union is used both by private consumers and power plants and petrochemical plants. Use of natural gas is polluting the environment less than that of other power resources.

MANAGERS VIEW ENTERPRISE MSZMP ORGANIZATIONS

AU291526 [Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 25 February on page 5 carries a 2,750-word report, entitled "Roundtable on Enterprise Party Work," on a discussion moderated by Jozsef Solyom with the participation of Frigyes Berecz, director general of the Beloiannis telecommunications technology enterprise; Robert Burgert, director of the Babolna state farm; Ede Horvath, director general of the Hungarian Railroad Car and Machine Factory; and Istvan Szabo, chairman of the Nadudvar Red Star agricultural produce cooperative, all of them members of the MSZMP Central Committee and "well-known" and "successful economic leaders." The date and place of the discussion is not given.

The main question posed by moderator Solyom is whether "their experiences bear out the view that the activity of workplace party organizations creates parallelisms in the decisionmaking process and makes finding a way out of various problems more cumbersome."

Berecz acknowledges that he has heard such views and even the view of some "economists and sociologists" to the effect that "our economic reform would unfold more successfully if the party withdrew from the economy," which "should be followed by a withdrawal by the state as well." But he calls them "unacceptable" and says that plant party work is "indispensable" and "of vital importance."

Horvath admits that "there are undoubtedly experiences in the economy that show that a workplace's vocational leadership and party organization do not always want the same thing, or do not want it in a like manner" and that "thus one or the other sometimes really does act as a retarding force." He notes that there are large enterprises at which "the party organizations interfere, using a peremptory voice, in matters in which they should not," and explains this by the fact that "the economic leadership is obviously not equal to its task at such enterprises." He adds: "Anyone can lean on an untalented leader who is unsuitable for leadership, although this holds conversely as well: A party organization that tolerates being leaned on by virtue of the authority of solely one leader is ill-equipped and disjointed."

Szabo views "debates" between the enterprise management and the party organization positively, calling them "a vital element of leadership that helps us all see more clearly and gives us all strength and self-confidence in our difficult decisions" and adding that "it would be a crime" to regard such debates as a "retarding force." He says that whether the party should withdraw from the economy "is not a contentious issue" at his enterprise.

"There may be scientists and theoretical economists who have reached this opinion for some reason, but this is not a problem for people who struggle through hard work to make a living."

Burgert calls the workplace party organization "the soundest debating forum, the creator of an identity of views, and the forger of joint action." He describes the establishment, abolition, reestablishment "in a modified form," and abolition once more of a supervisory committee at his enterprise and advocates that the party organization "should be made more suitable for fulfilling that role." He asks: "If it is true that we have admitted the best working people to the party, why is it necessary to create another group in addition to this politically cohesive force?"

Berecz opposes a plan that may affect "the fate of workplace party organizations." He says: "We, all of us sitting here, know that there are various ideas and plans in preparation for further developing the reform. They are elaborated mostly with the intention of freeing the economic leadership from the constraints of interference at enterprises from the outside. For instance, there is the idea of placing above enterprises an owners' organization into which the state would place its outside experts and the working people would place their elected deputies and, together with the enterprise's effective leaders, they would, each with a one-third share, represent divergent interests. There is not a word in this plan about the workplace party organization's role and supervisory duty. I ask, after all this: Is it conceivable for the party Central Committee to influence the life of enterprises through the impact it exercises on the entire economic system, but for the party organizations not to have a say in the practical solution of problems?! If that were the case, the party would deprive itself of a means of transmission that is, in my opinion, indispensable for implementing policy, including economic policy. I would consider it a risky decision affecting power if the enterprise party organizations were condemned to a passive role in the economy and the urgently necessary further development of the economic mechanism."

Berecz also finds faults in the activity of workplace party organizations, whose "working style and methods should be more vigorously developed." He says that "there are issues regarding which neither our party organizations nor even our party secretaries are as yet always consistent. I have in mind situations that call for explaining measures which unfavorably affect many people despite being justified, and for getting these measures accepted. In such situations, we would prefer party organizations to take a more courageous and unequivocal stand and assume the role of our partners."

Horvath labels as "foolishness" the views of "hot-headed people" with "precious little practical knowledge" who fancy that a reorganization of enterprise party organizations or their withdrawal from the economy would help resolve the current economic problems.

BRIEFS

SZAKALI TO COUNCIL OF MINISTERS -- Under the 2nd paragraph of the 2nd act of 1983 on the amendment of the Constitution, the Presidential Council elected Jozsef Szakali, chairman of the Central People's Control Committee, as member of the Council of Ministers. [Excerpt] [Budapest MTI in English 1725 GMT 27 Jan 84 LD]

PERUVIAN ENVOY PRESENTS CREDENTIALS -- Rezso Trautman, deputy chairman of the Presidential Council, received Jose Pablo Moran Val, ambassador to Hungary from the Republic of Peru, who presented his credentials. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Feb 84 p 8 AU]

WEST CRITICIZED FOR CONDEMNING TV CONSULTATIONS

AU281503 Warsaw ZOLNEIRZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 24 Feb 84 p 4

[Wieslaw Rogowski article: "Gaining Ground"]

[Excerpts] During the consultations on the government-proposed food price hikes, the Western press suddenly took great interest in the new trade union movement in Poland. It wrote that the government is having "problems" with the trade unions because they were not accepting either the first level of the proposed price rises, nor did they let pass the issue of the lowest income workers and proposed that a social benefit scheme should be created for precisely this group.

In a nutshell, the West considered something that was quite normal and to be expected as sensational, if the trade unions are what they are, that is, genuine, self-governing organizations of working people that are independent of the administration, unions that they themselves have set up for the protection of their own interests and those of society. What surprised these journalists was, to be blunt, the fact that our trade unions have an opinion of their own, something they dismissed almost on principle.

Whoever shows interest in trade union issues by following even just the press reports on this subject, knows that factory trade union organizations and today their nationwide federations, as well, are active and in a sense "unruly," fervent, and indepependently thinking bodies that have been organized at the wishes and initiative of the working people themselves. Western observers have grown more accustomed in terms of "black and white." And so, in accordance with previously accepted principles, they treated Solidarity alone as a genuine trade union and everything that was not part of Solidarity at the time, for instance, branch or autonomous trade unions, as something that could not in their view be genuine -- just as today's new trade union movement, because "genuine" for them means antistate.

An opinion poll was recently carried out on people's attitudes toward the trade union movement, and as usual, the poll's results were better than had been anticipated by some, despite the expectations of pessimists and people who have grown accustomed to viewing the signs of the stabilization of our affairs with none too well-disposed reservations toward them. Only 10 percent of those workers polled had a definitely negative attitude to the new trade unions, every other worker is sure that positive changes will be made, and as far as the development of this movement is concerned, 40 percent of those polled viewed the issue with a wary optimism, one that is not without reservations, but at the same time, one that promises a good future. Another 40 percent of those polled maintained a neutral stance and are not in a hurry to decide on whether to join the movement; but neither do they dismiss the possibility of doing so. This essentially random picture of the results of poll's results impels as to make the following conclusions:

First -- the position of the new trade unions is much better today concerning the attitude of the workers class, which tends to place its hopes in them. This is, after all, attested to by the fact that there is a constant influx of new members to the trade union movement, whose numbers already exceed 4 million, something that Western correspondents do not wish to see. We can recently speak of this influx on a monthly scale in the realm of 100,000-150,000 new members per month and sometimes even more. This would more or less correspond to the population of a town not much smaller than Radom, so that although it is a gradual process, it is not, after all, a closed one.

Second -- the awareness that individual factory organizations, which are, after all, according to the law, independent trade unions, will be unable to organize their workers properly and to represent their interests, impels them to combine in bodies on a higher level -- federations. Perhaps there is need for caution in order to guard against the repetition of past errors in the movement, and it is this caution that is holding back the initiatives of introducing and carrying out legislative changes. However, the desire to avoid the mistakes made in the activities of the Central Council of Trade Unions or even Solidarity's National Coordination Commission, is a factor here that quite rightly slows the pace of these structural changes, because this must be a process that is fully mature, and is supported by all trade unionists and their federations.

Third -- the fact that the field of activities, as well as the extent of society's and the work force's potential support for the new trade union movement, is constantly and unavoidably broadening. I doubt if this will suit the views or the fossilized plans of Western propaganda, which would prefer to see a boycott of the new movement as an expression of society's attitude. The underground structures of the allegedly "trade union " opposition, which are growing weaker due to decreasing support, would also wish the same. The new trade union movement, which is growing fast and gaining the prestige it deserves, does not inspire the favor of those in certain administrative circles who have grown used to not reckoning with the opinions of the unions, because this is simply more convenient for them.

Trade unions in a socialist state are not and cannot be "neutral" -- they are a form of social activeness and joint-responsibility for the fate of the members of their movement, for the existence of the entire nation, and for the nature of the relations within the country.

SPEECHES, COMMENTARIES MARK SOVIET ARMY DAY

AU280801 [Editorial Report] Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish on 21 February on pages 1 and 2 carries a 2,000-word statement made by General Yuriy Zarudin, commander of the Northern Group of Forces of the Soviet Army, to a PAP correspondent commemorating the 66th anniversary of the emergence of the Soviet Army; on 23 February on page 3 it carries a 2,500-word speech delivered by General of Division Jozef Uzycki, vice minister of national defense, on 22 February following a concert held in Warsaw at the Polish Theater to commemorate the same occasion on the eve of the anniversary; and on pages 4 and 5 it carries a 1,000-word NOVOSTI interview given by Marshal Vladimir Tolubko " especially for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI" to Stepan Fedoseyev also on the same occasion; while ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish on 23 February on page 5 carries a 600-word NOVOSTI commentary by Stepan Fedoseyev "especially for ZYCIE WARSZAWY," entitled "In the Service of the Nation and Peace," also commemorating the Soviet Army anniversary.

General Y. Zarudin's statement, entitled "In Defense of Peace and Socialism," outlines the history of the Bolshevik Revolution and communism in the Soviet Union on the basis of Leninism by frequently citing the words of Lenin, and finally discusses the present state of the Soviet Army, "about 90 percent of which is made up of Communists and Komsomol members." Zarudin then quotes Defense Minister Ustinov on the USSR's "duty to take steps to reply to the growing nuclear threat" posed by imperialism. He stresses the cooperation between the armies of the Warsaw Pact against this threat, the joint exercises, and "the regular meetings between commanders of the Armed Forces of the USSR and the PPR which have become traditional."

General J. Uzycki also devotes more than half his speech to an outline of the history of the Red Army and then goes on to condemn U.S. military "aggression in the Middle East, the invasion of Grenada, intervention in Latin America, and the intensification of the arms race, as well as the deployment of a new generation of missiles in Western Europe," along with NATO policies. He speaks of the contribution of the Polish Armed Forces to the peaceful policies pursued by the USSR and stresses the "partner-like cooperation" between them.

Marshal Vladimir Tolubko also traces the history of the Soviet Army's origins in response to the first question the NOVOSTI correspondent asks him, and deals with the state of its "permanent combat readiness" because of the "emphasis the United States and NATO are putting on improving the quality of their military equipment and arms." In reply to the final question, V. Tolubko says that in order to obtain military supremacy over the USSR, "over 400 military programs were designed by the Pentagon planning the creation of new nuclear and conventional arms systems as well as the militarization of space." He recalls the "countermeasures" the USSR was forced to take on 24 November 1983, when they were announced by Yuriy Andropov, including "the deployment of operational and tactical long-range missiles on the territories of the GDR and the CSSR (on the basis of an agreement with their governments)," and concludes by noting that "we are not in the least aiming to obtain military supremacy, but we will not at the same time allow the United States to obtain it." He also says that "other measures will also be taken."

NOVOSTI correspondent Stepan Fedoseyev commemorates the Soviet Army anniversary in his commentary by recalling the rise of the Red Army and its triumph over Hitler's fascism before touching on the "threat to world peace from the aggressive imperialist forces." He then devotes four paragraphs, almost half the length of his commentary, to a list of the arms and equipment the Soviet Army and Navy possesses in defense of its territories. However, he concludes by saying that "the basis of the power of the Soviet Armed Forces is their unity with the people." It is these people, he concludes, "who stand in defense of the achievements of socialism and peace in the entire world."

POLITBURO SESSION ASSESSES LAW OBSERVANCE

LD281927 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Feb 84

[Text] At an extraordinary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, attended by Chairman of the State Council Professor Henryk Jablonski and representatives of the leaderships of the Sejm, the Supreme Court, and the Prosecutor General's Office, an assessment was made of observance of the law and consolidation of respect for the law in the country.

It was stressed that one of the fundamental problems is observance of the law and increasing the effectiveness of the fight against crime, particularly the most dangerous economic crimes: theft damaging the national economy and the citizens; speculation; waste; bad management; bribery; profiteering; and various manifestations of antisocial behavior.

The Politburo heard a report on the fundamental trends of activity of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Observance of the Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline, set up 2 December 1983. The presented trends of the committee's work were approved. The need for their consistent implementation was pointed out and the belief expressed that the committee's activity would ensure the essential coordination of state bodies and social organizations in creating conditions for a peaceful and safe life for citizens.

The Politburo was briefed on the results of the official visit to Poland 18-21 February by UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and evaluated its results positively. It was recognized that the visit and its results should promote the further development and strengthening of cooperation between Poland and the United Nations. Poland's support for the United Nations and the efforts of the secretary general to strengthen it was affirmed.

The full text of the communique will be published in tomorrow's press.

IDEOLOGICAL COMMISSION VIEWS ANTIPROPAGANDA STEPS

AU281447 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 84 pp 1-2

[Jan Ruszczyc report: "The Need for Militancy"]

[Text] How do we make the party's ideological-political influence on social consciousness more effective? What is the mass media's role in the performance of this task? What are the duties of party members? A lively discussion during a meeting of the PZPR Central Committee's Ideological Commission in Warsaw on 23 February concentrated on solving these problems.

The meeting was chaired by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski also participated.

The starting point for the talks was a report presented by Jerzy Majka, head of the Central Committee's Information Department, containing current tasks and problems in combating the subversive ideological and propaganda activity directed against us by Western centers. Most of the speakers went beyond this subject. In his speech, Jozef Czyrek said that one cannot separate effective struggle against attempts to poison social consciousness with antisocialist views from the entire sphere of ideological-propaganda tasks. We should regard firm counteraction against the adversary's views as an integral part of good information and propaganda.

Several aktivists from large party organizations for workers, including aktivists from the Lenin and Ostrow steel mills and from the small car factory in Bielsko-Biala, expressed their major expectations and criticisms of the mass media. They said that their role in shaping human convictions requires particular accuracy and honesty in presenting the realities of working people's lives and the problems besetting working people. The weapon of press criticism, so important in the battle against negative phenomena, should be used with a great feeling of responsibility. In criticizing the perpetrators of a concrete misdemeanors, one should avoid generalizations which harm honest people.

The members of the commission generally assessed in favorable terms the growth of the mass media's militancy in exposing the hostile activities toward Poland carried out by the Western subversive radio stations and in unmasking their lies. At the same time, the demand was voiced that this task should be performed more fully, and that in particular the coverage and standard of articles on ideological matters and matters concerning world outlook should be raised. It was stated concisely that there has been clear progress in developing various forms of ideological-educational activity, but this progress is still insufficient given the scale of the tasks facing us.

A lot of attention was paid to the role of party aktivists and members in influencing work comrades who are not in the party. It was said that fast and early information about events and about the expected doings of the adversary are essential in this activity. Factory aktivs should be better equipped with argumentation permitting them to better explain matters of vital importance to working people such as wages and prices policy and the unjustified amassing of riches by some private enterprise circles. One worker-aktivist said that just as the work forces are responsible for the quality of their products, so should representatives of the party's ideological front, including those in the social sciences, be responsible for supplying workers aktivs with argumentation and assessments that are useful in progaganda activity. The party's interests, program, and revolutionary and patriotic traditions should be presented more clearly and in a more understandable way, but no quarter should be given to those who defame the party.

The following spoke during the meeting: Julian Kraus, Stanislaw Knap, Norbert Michta, Danuta Grabowska, Wlodzimierz Sokorski, Ryszard Brodowicz, Jan Benarowicz, Franciszek Banko, Kazimierz Miniur, Bogdan Jachacz, Witold Skrabalak, Antoni Kwiatkowski, and Czeslaw Stepien.

Wladyslaw Loranc, head of the Central Committee's Ideological Department, explained to the commission the methods whereby the national conference of PZPR delegates will examine ideological matters, with special reference to the draft declaration entitled "What We Are Fighting For, Where We Are Heading" and to the discussion agenda on the future PZPR program. The commission also heard a report on the main paths of the Ideological Commission's activities this year.

CATHOLIC CHURCH MARKS ANNIVERSARY OF RECOGNITION

LD282205 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 28 Feb 84

[Text] In connection with the 40th anniversary of People's Poland and the 38th anniversary of the legal recognition of the Polish Catholic Church by the state authorities, a solemn session of the Synodal Council of the Catholic Church has been held in Warsaw. Bishops, priests, and lay activists of the Polish Catholic Church issued an address to all people of the world, both faithful and nonbelievers, to intensify actions to maintain peace.

SPEECHES DELIVERED AT 15TH PZPR PLENUM

AU281025 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Feb 84 pp 1, 6

[Report on speech by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski at the opening of the 15th PZPR Plenum on 18 February; uppercase passages published in boldface]

[Text] OPENING THE DISCUSSIONS, WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI STRESSED THAT THE 15TH PZPR PLENUM IS THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION OF THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOLLOWING THE END OF THE ACCOUNTABILITY-ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN THE PARTY'S REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CELLS. A group of comrades, the first secretary of the PZPR Central committee reported, is taking part in our discussions. They have been given the function of voivodship committee first secretaries for the first time by voivodship conferences or plenary sessions of PZPR voivodship committees. In the name of the Politburo, Wojciech Jaruzelski wished them, as well as those who were reelected as first secretaries at voivodship conferences, many achievements for the good of the party and the socialist homeland.

[Warsaw PAP in English at 1717 GMT on 18 February provides the following additional information: "Our today's meeting is attended by a group of comrades who were entrusted by the voivodship conferences or voivodship committee plenary meeting with the functions of voivodship committee first secretaries for the first time. These are following comrades: Adam Bartosiak of Plock, Kazimierz Paryszek of Ciechanow, Edward Szydlik of Slupsk and Alojzy Zielinski of Chelm. Following other comrades attend the Central Committee meeting for the first time in their capacity as first secretaries of the voivodship committees: Zdzislaw Balicki of Wroclaw, Bogumil Ferensztajn of Katowice, Zenon Zmudzinski of Bydgoszcz. The latter were elected before the expiry of the previous term and the voivodship conferences confirmed their mandate of trust."]

ON 9 FEBRUARY, THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE THEN SAID, YURIY ANDROPOV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND CHAIRMAN OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDIUM, DIED. THE CPSU AND THE SOVIET PEOPLE LOST A LEADER, AN EXCELLENT STATESMAN, A PRINCIPLED COMMUNIST, AND A FERVENT INTERNATIONALIST. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS MOVEMENT LOST A PERSISTENT FIGHTER FOR PEACE, DETENTE, AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS AND SOCIALISM. WE LOST, W. JARUZELSKI SAID, A SINCERE FRIEND OF SOCIALIST POLAND.

THOSE WHO WERE GATHERED THERE PAID TRIBUTE TO YURIY ANDROPOV BY OBSERVING A MOMENT OF SILENCE.

REFERRING TO THE ELECTION OF KONSTANTIN CHERNENKO AS THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, W. JARUZELSKI RECALLED THAT HE IS KNOWN TO US AS AN OUTSTANDING PARTY AND STATE ACTIVIST. In his speech at the extraordinary CPSU Central Committee plenum, he announced that he will devote all his efforts to continuing the Leninist line of domestic and foreign policy that has been pursued by the Communist Party and the Soviet state for the sake of consistent implementation of the tasks mapped out by the 26th CPSU Congress. The PZPR Central Committee first secretary continued, we are familiar Konstantin Chernenko's good will toward socialist Poland, his understanding of our problems, as well as the importance that he attaches to the development of friendly relations and cooperation between our fraternal parties and nations. We are convinced. Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed, that this cooperation will continue to be enriched and develop for the good of both our parties and states to the advantage of the entire socialist community.

THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE THEN REPORTED THAT FRANCISZEK KARDYNAL, MEMBER OF THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE, DIED BETWEEN THE 14th AND THE 15th PZPR PLENUMS. We lose in him a well known party aktivist from the Opole region who was active until the last moment of his life. He was a tireless representative of the interests of the workers, W. Jaruzelski said. The convocation paid tribute to the memory of Franciszek Kardynal with a moment of silence.

The Aim of the Plenary Session

Touching on the next issues that were worthy of note and connected with the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, Wojciech Jaruzelski pointed out that the aim of the session is an appraisal of the accountability-election campaign that was conducted throughout the entire party; discussion and the correct decisions on crucial issues concerning the convocation, organization, and program of the national PZPR conference as well as an examination of issues of an organizational nature. This is, W. Jaruzelski pointed out, the last of the planned sessions of the PZPR Central Committee before the national PZPR conference. What we as the Central Committee have done and how we did it, W. Jaruzelski stressed, will be conveyed to the delegates of this conference as well as the entire party and society in a collection of concise reports.

It will be necessary for the Central Committee to adopt the following reports: "A REPORT ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE NINTH EXTRAORDINARY PZPR CONGRESS" AND "A REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE POLITBURO, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIAT, AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMISSIONS." Wojciech Jaruzelski proposed that all the detailed remarks and proposals concerning these materials should, in accordance with normal working procedures, be sent to the Central Committee's Organization Department, while the more basic and general remarks made during the discussion should be noted in the protocol of the discussion of the 15th PZPR Plenum.

As to the issues connected with programming and forecasting, W. Jaruzelski continued, we are presenting to you MATERIALS FOR THE DISCUSSION OF THE PZPR PROGRAM AND THE INITIAL DRAFT OF THE IDEOLOGICAL-PROGRAMMATIC DECLARATION "WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR AND WHERE WE ARE HEADING." These drafts represent the documents that are of great ideological and political significance for the party, the workers class, and all the people.

The materials for the discussion of the PZPR program, W. Jaruzelski stressed, require deeper reflection and more time -- that is, longer work. In that connection he proposed that, regardless of the observations submitted to the 15th plenum, Central Committee members should be able to submit until 25 February 1984 written or verbal proposals in the regions of the appropriate voivodship committees to which representatives of the PZPR Central Committee apparatus will be posted for this purpose.

IN LINE WITH THE DECISION OF THE NINTH PARTY CONGRESS, W. JARUZELSKI CONTINUED, WE WILL SUBMIT TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF DELEGATES THE DRAFT OF THE "REGULATIONS FOR ELECTING DELEGATES, AUTHORITIES, AND CONTROL BODIES IN THE PZPR." THAT DECISION IS INCLUDED IN THE RIDER TO ARTICLE 26 OF THE "PZPR STATUTE."

Such a large number of materials, W. Jaruzelski continued, attests that the party's leading cells have carried out intensive and extensive work and that we have jointly developed valuable new and often unique forms of mutual ties, exchanges of information, and consultations between executive bodies and the general run of the members of the party's central bodies of authority. At the same time, W. Jaruzelski stressed, we -- that is, the Central Committee -- bear great responsibility for the final shape of the documents in question, primarily for their consistent and effective implementation. The point is that those materials -- the information and accountability materials as well as the programmatic ones -- strongly reflect the real state of the party and the country. That is why, W. Jaruzelski said, today's Politburo report will present an initial image of the party, especially of the events taking place in it, which emerged during the accountability-election campaign in party organizations and cells.

Comrade Jaruzelski also pointed out that in order to deepen the knowledge of that image and to consolidate the conviction that it is a credible image, members of the party's central bodies of authority had been asked to state their views about the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and about the present state of the party and its ties with the workers class and the working people. W. Jaruzelski expressed his thanks to those who will participate in those written consultations. We want, he added, the results of those consultations and opinion polls to reinforce and update the materials that will be submitted by the PZPR Central Committee to the national conference of delegates.

The idea of preserving the validity of delegates' mandates and of holding a conference of delegates in the middle of the term of their office, M. Jaruzelski stressed, is based on new statutory decisions. We seek to implement those decisions in a new, democratic, and Leninist way, taking advantage of the collective wisdom of the party, especially of the party aktivs, both in correctly identifying various needs and in mapping out the lines of necessary activities.

Our work with the delegates during the period preceding the national conference of delegates should serve that purpose, W. Jaruzelski stressed.

Central Committee members have also been handed information on the activities of the Appeals Commission of the ninth party congress, "On the State of the Implementation of the Proposals Submitted During the Ninth Congress," "On the Work of the Central Auditing Commission," and "On the Activities of the Central Party Control Commission."

Bednarski Report

LD190031 Warsaw PAP in English 2134 GMT 18 Feb 84

["Report by Henryk Bednarski (Abridged)" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw 18 Feb (PAP) -- PUWP CC Secretary Henryk Bednarski acquainted today's 15th plenum of the PUWP Central Committee with the effects of the party-wide two-year-long debate over the draft PUWP ideological and programmatic declaration "What We Fight For and Where We are Headed For." The draft [word indistinct] the debate by the 7th plenary session of the PUWP CC two years ago. He said:

The discussion on the draft declaration [words indistinct] significance of the problems it dealt with, and a favorable influence on the situation in the party, speeding up its consolidation and helping restore its capability to lead in society.

Any postulates aimed at making that document more simple, at increasing the clarity and precision of the language, being right in [words indistinct] condition enabling the party, the working class and society to fully understand the contents of the declaration.

The progress in the implementation of the line of struggle and agreement, and the socialist renewal contributed to finding definite solutions to numerous issues that emerged in the initial period of the discussion on the draft resolution.

Answers to many questions came during the plenary sessions of the Central Committee. This concerns first of all the key issue of the topicality of the line laid down by the 9th extraordinary congress and possibilities for its implementation.

At the same time everyday life gave prominence to fresh issues, brought further questions concerning, among other things, long-term tasks in the struggle against alien ideology and the political opponent, several issues relating to the young generation, concrete ways and forms of accord among the whole variety of patriotic forces, methods of implementation of the economic reform and effective restoration of economic balance and counteracting the growing threat to peace.

A lasting motive was and continues to be the tight link between the contents of the declaration and the ideas of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PUWP. For this very reason and to give the document a high political dimension, the 13th PUWP CC Plenum resolved to charge the nationwide conference of delegates with the task of the definite examination of the ideological and programmatic declaration.

Today we are presenting the draft declaration moving for it to be recommended to the conference.

The work on the draft is closely connected with the start of the [word indistinct] for another fundamental document: a long-term party program. We are then in need of an answer to the question about the limits of the functions and the contents of the declaration and the program.

The submitted draft declaration embodies six separate, but interdependent topics.

The first part of the draft, referring to the centenary of the Polish working class movement, depicts our traditions and determines PUWP's basic ideological values. According to the workers orientation adopted by the 9th congress, prominence was given here to the class motive. The document recalls the fields of the party activity that are marked by this motive, stressing at the same time the patriotic origins of the PUWP.

The second part gives a short summary of the 40 years of People's Poland. Against this background it carries statements referring to the sources and the course of the crisis and the tasks this involves.

The third part has been devoted to socio-economic activities, with particular regard to the significance of the reform, the necessity for growing labour productivity and more effective management as well as to the chances and dangers facing Poland's economic development.

The fourth part refers to socio-political tasks and is guided by [words indistinct] according to which one of the great development [words indistinct] democracy, [words indistinct] with the influence and [passage indistinct] and with the issues of educational, scientific and cultural policy, stressing their common ideological fundament [as received,] namely the improvement in conditions for comprehensive development of both the individual and society, which is possible only in the situation when alongside economic and political factors attention is paid to the significance of ideological tasks, cultural transformations and changes in social awareness.

The last part of the draft carries the issues of Poland's position in today's world. It stresses the significance of our country's class alliances, adherence to the principles of the socialist internationalism, solidarity with the forces struggling for social progress. While underlining our determination to defend peace, it declares our readiness for constructive participation in solving the problems of today's world.

The essence of the functions of this document [words indistinct] of all in that it determines party's relations with its social basis and its surroundings. We are aware of the fact that one of the criteria of the social assessment of party's activities will be the harmony between its practice, its member's attitude and the principles and values of this document, with the declaration "What We Fight For and Where We Are Headed For" being its formula.

The work on the final draft of the "declaration" will continue, and the respective remarks will be taken into account by the editorial committee while working out the final draft which we are going to submit to the nationwide conference.

Orzechowski Address

LD190015 Warsaw PAP in English 2154 GMT 18 Feb 84

["Marian Orzechoswki's Address (Summary)" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw 18 Feb (PAP) -- The work on the programme of the Polish United Workers' Party is the fulfilment of the obligation taken by the 9th congress.

Above all, the programme is designed to consolidate the party in its ideological Marxist-Leninist identity, to determine as precisely as possible the close, further and distant goals of the party in the building of socialism.

From the perspective of many experiences, through the prism of contemporary socio-economic and political conditions, transformations in social awareness and attitudes, but in a new way, we are putting the question of building socialism in Poland and its following stages.

No nation can live with even the most magnificent past. No nation can live from day to day without a clear-cut perspective. It is the duty of the party, following from its role in society and the state, to constantly update, modernize and make real the vision of the Socialist Poland. The vision of Poland from the turn of the century and the beginning of the 21st century makes us inclined to raise questions which have decisive significance for the nation and state.

In the work on the programme we are [words indistinct] a realistic assessment of the existing situation, its evolutionary tendencies, transformations taking place in and around Poland. A critical analysis of our party experiences is such an indispensable component of this realistic assessment.

Continuing the thought of the 9th congress and Central Committee resolutions, a long-term programme must however take into account new phenomena and processes, martial law experiences concerning particularly the role and place of the state in the life of the nation as a guarantor of fundamental national interests and the indispensable condition of people's rule, socialist democracy as well as "this same but not the same" party, the way in which it carries out its leading role.

The programme must take into account the long-term threats and barriers to socio-economic development: demographic, technological, ecological; psychological barriers and point out the possibilities of overcoming them. It must take into account the conclusions arising from international situation.

Only honest study and use of the experiences of the brotherly socialist countries will be of great assistance in making a correct determination of the goal, in selecting the most appropriate strategy for building socialism, in constructing our programme. Our party attaches special attention to Lenin's historical heritage and to the achievements of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The guideline for our activity in this sphere will be the skillful use of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions for creating socialism in Poland.

The road to socialism leads, under Polish conditions, through a return of the sources of Marxism-Leninism. But the process of revolutionary transformations is taking place at a definite time, in a definite country and in a definite internal and international situation. This requires from the party [word indistinct] independent creative determination [word indistinct] materialization of the principles of socialist building which stem from peculiar national and historical conditions. The party draws this conclusion from experiences of the past that only on the road of consolidating universal values of socialism with national features and traditions, socialist ideals will become dear to a majority of the nation, workers who are non-party members, peasants, craftsmen, intellectuals and the young generation.

Many issues of a theoretical and practical character [word indistinct] are connected with our state and people's power, with the role played by different social groups and prospects for their development still must be explained and discussed. This is the reason why we still cannot put forward a draft programme or even less binding assumptions to this programme, but much more modest "materials to discussion on the programme of United Workers' Party."

CULTURE DEPARTMENT REPORTS ON PUBLISHING

AU281511 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25/26 Feb 84 p 4

['Extensive excerpts' of report by PZPR Central Committee Culture Department read by its deputy head, Kazimierz Molek, during a 23 February conference -- place not given -- of party leadership aktivs in publishing houses: "The Ideological-Political Responsibility of Publishers"]

[Excerpts] Publishing in our country is, or at least should be, an important instrument in implementing the cultural policy of the party and people's state, permitting the effective implementation of the processes of democratizing education and culture announced in the July Manifesto [1944], and permitting the propagation, among the broadest cross-sections of society, of those values which according to Marxist ideology are regarded as the most valuable and most essential in the process of the socialist education of society.

Particularly difficult and responsible tasks and duties rest on the shoulders of the publishing movement and on individual publishing houses at a time when we are emerging from the crisis. This is all the more so because the well-known economic difficulties have been supplemented with the activity of antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces and with the activity of centers of ideological subversion in the capitalist countries, which have turned the sphere of culture into a basic arena of political and ideological battle against communism. These phenomena do not make the work of publishers any easier; in fact, the literary community has been and still is internally split.

In general, publishers cannot count on receiving new, previously unpublished works by such authors as Czeslaw Milosz for publishing because these works are usually sponsored by someone else. In addition, in many cases these are poor works in the artistic sense, and deceitful and obdurate in a sociopolitical sense. The question remains of reprinting other works. There are many of these in the 1984 publishing plan. And here we encounter an extraordinary phenomenon: There is a group of writers, external and internal emigrants, involved in active antisocialist activity, and often cooperating with centers of anti-Polish subversion, who enjoy the official support of two sponsors. One of these is the Western sponsor, sometimes in the shape of the Literary Institute in Paris, at other times in the shape of the "Literary Pamphlets," and still at other times in the shape of Radio Free Europe. This sponsor publishes new works ordered by it which slander Polish reality. At the same time there is the domestic sponsor, in other words, national socialist publishers who generously and frequently reissue the works of our "absent friends." These works were written before their authors proceeded to one form of emigration or another.

The above practices are based on the naive belief that publishing the works of "some" writers will stop others from making another unwise step or will make them return to the road leading to citizen's honor.

As the Central Committee has eminently recalled at its 13th plenum, the publishing movement is the chief element of the ideological front. It is on this front that a battle for society's awareness, especially for that of the younger generations, is being fought right now. It is on this front that a battle for society's awareness, especially for that of the younger generations, is being fought right now. Ideological battle in culture and literature is a battle for subject matter. It is the publisher who decides what values and what kind of subject matter reach society via such continuously powerful media as books. Therefore, it is no wonder that the party expects principled ideological and political responsibility from its members and aktivists working in publishing.

MOKRZYSZCZAK INTERVIEW ON PARTY ACTIVITIES

LD280928 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 27 Feb 84

[Interview with Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak; interviewer and date not specified -- live or recorded]

[Text] [Interviewer] Our guest in the studio today is Comrade Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, candidate Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The activity of the party at present is associated by broad social masses with two types of guarantees: the guarantee of social progress and of the renewal of our political and economic life. How does the leadership of the party assess this situation?

[Mokrzyszczak] In order to give even a partial answer to this question one has to go back to the ninth congress and to the period which preceded it, to the great debate then taking place in the party as a whole and to the great interest in the deliberations of the congress. I remember very well -- and I am sure that all the delegates to the congress remember this very well, too -- that the discussion took two main directions, or perhaps the concern of the congress took two directions: first there was a need to analyze our critical situation and to find a programmatic solution, and, second, there was a search for guarantees of all kinds which would ensure the realization of these congress decisions. I believe that many of these guarantees have already found their permanent positions in the party.

One of them is the work with the curtain raised, as it is often described, of not only the Central Committee of the party echelons as a whole, but also of the government. What do I mean by this? Well, surely we all mean the same thing by this -- that is, the openness of our party life, the publication of our resolutions. Perhaps this is not so new because it has always been done, but what is new is the work in hand, that is the publication of deadlines that we want to ensure as a guarantee for the implementation of our resolutions. [sentence as heard] Yes, we are using these terms. There are also periodical reports from the implementation of the resolutions and deadlines in question. This is, after all, common knowledge now. We publish this in TRYBUNA LUDU, which is easily available. Thus we have nothing to hide and we are trying to show elements in which we have not been successful. Not everything comes off, after all.

And there is also the collective work of the party echelons. This is being observed everywhere, at every level of the functioning of the party. Recently the accountability, election camapign once again accentuated the great concern of the party as a whole that everything new in the functioning of the party which is beneficial and good be maintained and continued.

[Interviewer] When we are talking about these guarantees, comrade secretary, the following questions are present in social feelings: Does the party know how the public lives, what its needs are, and where the leadership of the party finds out about these things?

[Mokrzyszczak] This is simple. The party is part of the public, after all, it is in this public, it is rooted in it, it is the public, simply. There are authentic workers in the party; and there are our wives, women who lineup, in the party. Sometimes they come home in bad moods. Basically, representatives of all groups and layers of our society are in it and that is why we have clear perception, through our party members.

There are also other things about which we find out directly, if we are talking here about the leadership of the party. There is a system of close contacts with factories. Every member of the party leadership, also of the government, has one great industrial enterprise in Poland in which it ought to arrive once a month in accordance with the decisions of the Politburo. He or she ought to maintain telephone contacts, too. We are doing this.

What does a day like this, spent in a factory, look like? Usually it is a whole day. I shall speak here about my methods, although other people probably behave in a similar way. First of all, there is a visit to one of the departments of the matallurgical enterprise -- in my case, a large metallurgical enterprise.

[Interviewer] Where is it located?

[Mokrzyszczak] In Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski, the metallurgical works named after Marceli Nowotko. And then one talks to people in the department. Then an open party meeting is organized by the basic party organization.

[Interviewer] Who can come to such a meeting? Do nonparty members come?

[Mokrzyszczak] Sure they do. These are not short meetings. When they begin after the first shift, at 1615, they end at 1800 at the earliest, and no one leaves. That does not mean that the subjects are so attractive, the speeches so interesting. It does mean, simply, that the people are vividly interested in the problems we are having, the party leadership is having, and there is no lack of such problems.

[Interviewer] I think that our viewers would also be interested in hearing about some institutional forms of activity of the Central Committee, in the sense of gathering and assessing information on the state of public mood, on social relations, and so on.

[Mokrzyszczak] Every day we have information on situations from each voivodship committee, including not only states of mind, but sometimes a considerable amount of information on production difficulties in work enterprises. This system functions from the base to the top, and from the top to the base. We have intermediate systematic contacts with 200 work enterprises through telex links, so we can exchange information even several times a day.

Besides the system I have just mentioned, using technology, there is also a system of consultation, not yet institutionalized but already implemented. Since just before the seventh plenum we have had 2-day information-consultation meetings with the members of the Central Committee. And since then this has become a permanent practice. During those 2 days we meet in teams, because it would be rather difficult to meet the entire Central Committee. Those meetings are devoted to extensive briefings and then, in the afternoon, the entire Secretariat comes and sometimes we talk openly and cordially until 2100 or 2200. The members of the Central Committee present their views, including very criticial remarks. We also talk frankly and openly about what is on our minds, and sometimes we present our complaints.

[Interviewer] One can include an idea of national conference in the new forms of the party activity. Obviously, such national party conferences were held in the seventies. What, then is new about the national party conference which is to be held in March this year?

[Mokrzyszczak] It will be the national conference of delegates. This is the innovation or rather a guarantee or one of the guarantees, which were included in the resolution of the ninth congress, which was the permanence of the mandate of the delegates. For the first time in our party history those comrades who were delegates to the congress will give an account of implementation in the middle of the term of office. Therefore, those who adopted the program and elected the new Central Committee and commissions will also make detailed analyses of what has happened and what parts of the ninth congress resolutions we have succeeded in implementing. In this sense this is completely new.

Previously there were party conferences but not conferences of delegates. Now the delegates for the ninth congress will attend the national conference.

We expect the delegates to carry out an in-depth evaluation of all that we have managed to do since the ninth congress; we expect a solid evaluation, also a criticial evaluation, of course, but after all we want to know whether we are going in the right direction and we want confirmation from the conference that this is the way we should continue to go.

[Interviewer] Could the comrade secretary present the main points of the program of this conference; what assumptions have been adopted by the 15h plenum while passing a resolution to call the conference?

[Mokrzyszczak] Perhaps it is not so much the assumptions we need to discuss, for the 15th plenum is known as well as any other plenum. A resolution has been published as well as all the documents which were presented to the delegates for the debate. Perhaps we should talk about intentions. Some of the material already before the 15th plenum, such as drafts, has already been sent to voivodships, asking voivodship organizations to elect the delegates to the ninth congress [as heard] and to acquaint them, at this preliminary stage, with preparations for the conference, and to gather their comments. We do not want to conduct the national conference, or perhaps we should say we do not want the documents for the conference to be drafted only by the party leadership, by its central apparatus. We want these documents to be a joint achievement of the delegates, too. They created the resolutions, they worked in the voivodship committee commissions and created our realistic reality [as heard] today; let them also carry out a proper evaluation before the conference. They can put forward the proposals. We shall in fact work on these documents until the last day, until the day of the beginning of the conference. Most voivodship committees intend to meet the delegates at least twice and at these 2 and 1/2 days deliberations of the national conference there should be extensive local debates in the region.

[Interviewer] One more significant point: In accordance with the decisions of the ninth congress, the delegates elected to the congress have kept their mandates. How many delegates were elected to the ninth congress and how many will come to the national conference?

[Mokrzyszczak] To be precise, I got the latest data. There were 1,962 delegates taking part in the deliberations of the ninth congress, 82 lost their mandates for various reasons including these unpleasant facts -- but this is what life is like: 15 delegates have died, 48 are no longer in the party, having been expelled or deleted from records; 19 have received party punishment and lost their mandates because of this; and we still have 18 cases for detailed investigation and explanation. In summary, about 5 percent will not go; 95 percent of delegates are the ones who created the resolutions and the program and worked actively in the last 2 and 1/2 years.

Voivodship conferences and the electoral campaign have ended. We also carried out an evaluation at the 15th plenum, each one [as heard] and I took part in seven accountability-election conferences in voivodships. Everwhere, the activeness of delegates was one of the themes in the debate, in the sense of evaluating how they held their mandate and how actively they participated in the realization of the voivodship program.

Comrade Jaruzelski talked about this at the 15th plenum, although we still may not have managed completely to implement such a view: Let us not evaluate people by how they speak, whether they speak beautifully, but by how effectively they implement party resolutions. One can therefore perhaps assume that for the second term of office of the Central Committee this principle will have to be very important and become a matter for great concern on the part of the party.

BARYLA ASSESSES ARMY ACCOUNTABILITY CAMPAIGN

AU281301 [Editorial Report] Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish on 22 February on page 3 carries a 4,000-word article by General of Arms Jozef Baryla, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces and deputy minister of national defense, assessing the recently concluded PZPR accountability campaign in the Armed Forces.

General Baryla begins by saying that the Army campaign's "basic features were a concern for the internal cohesion of the military ranks, their ideological devotion, their ability to criticize, their realistic appraisal of their achievements, and consistency in overcoming their weaknesses." And it was while it was engaged in the latter he notes, that the party in the Armed Forces "clashed with forces that attempted to extinguish the light these efforts had created through an overt antisocialist counterrevolution that was planned and generously funded by Western centers of ideological and economic subversion that were hostile to Poland."

J. Baryla calls the experience of the stormy past "lessons in admonition and constructive realism." People, he says, "had to realize what lay behind us and what stage we are at now in order to move forward more confidently in this knowledge."

General Baryla continues by noting that "by serving the party as the motivating force behind the entire Armed Forces, we performed our service as a protective mantle for the workers class and the entire nation." He then states that "over 82 percent of the officers in the Armed Forces, about 60 percent of the ensigns, and 57 percent of the noncommissioned officers are members of the PZPR."

He then lists a 6-point "catalogue of values" which the campaign mapped out as the Army's achievements to date: the first is "the organizational and educational role of the party in the Armed Forces"; second, "the party's ideological substance"; third, "its creative nature"; fourth, "the party's leading force in the state"; fifth, "the way it constantly consolidates the party members' identity in the military mileu"; and sixth, "the Army's combat readiness and high level of moral and political discipline."

J. Baryla notes that one-third of the previous party secretaries were reelected during the campaign, "but as many as two-thirds of those positions constituted an influx of new blood." He also mentions that "about 700 party members represent our Armed Forces in civilian party cells and many have responsibile positions in the structure of the state apparatus." He adds in conclusion that "the new party authorities have been considerably 'rejuvenated.' The scale of this problem is illustrated by the fact that 67 percent of all first secretaries of party committees are comrades who will be performing this function for the first time, and so they will be people who will not yet be 'familiar' with party activities, people with much enthusiasm, but lacking greater experience in this kind of work.

"It is, therefore, our military and party duty to introduce these people to this work as quickly as possible as the workers of the Armed Forces' party-political apparatus."

Finally, J. Baryla appeals for the following principle to be adopted: "Every comrade has a defined place in the party's ranks and each one implements strictly defined tasks," in party work and in the forthcoming national PZPR conference.

SIWAK ON WORK ON COMPLAINTS, OPINIONS COMMITTEE

LD281813 Warsaw PAP in English 1412 GMT 28 Feb 84

[Text] Warsaw 28 Feb -- PUWP CC Political Bureau member, chairman of the Committee for Citizens' Postulates, Complaints and Opinions Albin Siwak told PAP about the committee's work and activities after the 9th congress:

"Since the congress, our committees, from the Central Committee level to urban and rural links, have examined numerous cases and have helped remove the signs of social pathology that had been reported by citizens. We stuck to the principle: None of the cases in question be put aside without examination.

"It is only control by party and social authorities," said Siwak, "that can rid our life of evil. This way of acting, both by the PUWP and by our committee, had no precedence in the Central Committee's previous terms of office. I think we are helping restore the party's rightful place in the life of the state and society." Complaints mostly concern housing problems, unjust distribution of flats. They make up some 60 percent of all complaints. Another important field embraces rural issues, mostly relating to corruption. "These negative phenomena, though, concern the young generation to a lesser extent, since young people are guided by principles of socialist coexistence," Albin Siwak opined.

"Also, as a committee, we try to make various branches of economy introduce some changes to their legal regulations in tune with the citizens' postulates. The letters we receive deal also with more general issues, such as the functioning of the state, systemic issues, economic policy, staff problems, etc. Conclusions from these letters, and those reached at the voivodship level meetings we attend, are being submitted to the party and state authorities, and to PUWP CC first secretary, Prime Minister Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski in person."

"During the forthcoming conference of PUWP delegates we should like to draw attention to the necessity for working out fresh, generally binding principles of distribution of flats, to just remuneration policy, to principles of admission to universities that would be concordant with social interest. Also, we should see to settling the issue of selecting the people to be employed abroad."

OFFICIAL ON LETTERS TO CENTRAL COMMITTEE

AU271211 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 84 p 3

[Interview given by Colonel Marian Kot, head of the PZPR Central Committee Letters and Correspondence Bureau, to Izabella Wajszczuk: "Every Letter Addressed to the Party Can Hint at a Social Problem"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Wajszczuk: I think that no matter to whom letters or complaints are addressed, they are primarily regarded as the problems of individual people.

At the same time, it is possible to reach certain general conclusions because the same problems serve as a hint that the situation in a certain sector is not too good; that, say, the mechanisms of management or organization are badly used. What is the reaction of your bureau in such cases?

Kot: It is our primary duty to treat various problems as problems of individuals. In a way this is also a necessity because most letters concern individual problems of individual people. For example, of the over 52,000 letters and complaints addressed to the Central Committee last year, over one-third concerned housing problems and over 12 percent the problems of the rural areas and agriculture. There are also individual problems connected with the amalgamation of lands or with the distribution of farm machines. I would like to use this as an example in answering the second part of your question. The letters written by farmers are mostly concerned with the distribution of farm machines and show that the present criteria of distribution are being abused only too often and that this abuse does not take place in a single region or voivodship, but throughout the country. If these criteria are not being observed and if it is easy to sidestep them, this means that they are ineffective. In the analysis we have made of last year's letters we indicate that it is necessary to survey that problem throughout the country and to learn the necessary lessons in order to improve the work done by the heads of gminas and the social commissions that make decisions. These problems will be discussed at the next session of the Central Committee Suggestions and Complaints Commission, which will also be attended by the Ministry of Agriculture and the central institutions operating in agriculture. This is what we do with all the problems that are addressed on a wider scale to the Central Committee.

Wajszczuk: Your bureau statistics show that there are large differences in the numbers of letters sent in from various voivodships, that most letters are sent from large conurbations, and that the smallest numbers are sent from Leszno, Sieradz, Slupsk, Krosno, Pila, and Przemysl Voivodships. Does this mean that life in these voivodships is easier and more equitable? Or does it mean that people there think that the central bodies are too far away?

Kot: Those statistics are the way they are primarily because in the voivodships in question there are no large conurbations and large industries. These are the reasons that reduce the letters from those voivodships by one-third. Please keep in mind that 36 percent of all letters concern housing problems and that it is primarily in large cities that these problems are most acute.

Wajszczuk: There is no doubt that the two reasons cited by you have a decisive effect on the number of the letters and complaints addressed to the Central Committee, but it is true that not many people in Chelm, Legnica, and Gorzow Voivodships write such letters. These voivodships are called "new" voivodships. They are rather far away from the center.

Kot: Speaking of statistics, we are far more concerned for the one that shows that people write more letters to the central bodies and fewer to voivodship bodies.

Wajszczuk: This means that people sidestep the local bodies?

Kot: Yes, and this is a serious problem. This is exactly what has happened also in Ciechanow Voivodship, from which people have written twice as many letters to the central bodies as they have to the local ones.

Wajszczuk: Such materials enable you to indicate where the situation is bad and why it is bad. they may also tell you about public needs, aspirations, and moods.

Kot: These materials tell us, above all, about public views on the issues that are important for the state and the country. We always receive more such letters at a time when some important issues are being discussed or when important decisions and laws are being adopted. It is characteristic that many such letters are received from nonparty people, although not infrequently these people address letters to us on their individual problems and begin them by saying that it is only the Central Committee they trust and that they know it will help them.

Letters raising general public problems are closely connected with the country's situation. Many such letters have most recently raised the issue of price hikes or rather the results of such hikes. People are afraid that food price hikes may result in industrial goods price hikes because they think that work forces may ask for higher prices for their products in order to obtain higher wages to compensate for food price hikes. Citizens also continue to ask for the state's tighter control over prices and for more rigorous measures by the authorities to eliminate price anarchy, which, they think, exists.

The most recent letters -- letters addressed to us in the past few days -- have raised more often than ever before the waste of working time, the results of bad discipline, and bad work organization as the reason for bad discipline. The letter writers see in these defects an important reason for what they call "price manipulation."

Wajszczuk: Has an analysis of the letters and complaints addressed to the Central Committee indicated any changes in the country in such a span of time as, say, a decade?

Kot: I can supply you with an interesting and significant example in this connection: We no longer receive the letters, which outnumbered all other letters, asking for "favors" with the local bodies. It is true that we continue to grumble about the work done by the administration and about the way citizens' business is dealt with, but it is also true that the officials' attitude toward citizens has clearly changed. We can see that the press, which not so long ago made so many appeals for a better attitude toward citizens, no longer makes them. Today we could make a long list of the authorities that go to the citizens in the rural areas, gminas, and plants instead of receiving them in their offices.

I would like to say something about the role of the press in implementing the ninth congress resolutions because this role is very important. Through defending the citizens' just interests, publishing critical materials, and citing examples of effectively settling disputed matters and successfully and equitably solving human problems, the press is an incentive for action and participates in developing socialist democracy and intensifying the socialist principles of social justice.

SPILJAK CONCLUDES YAR VISIT, TRAVELS TO PDRY

Talks in YAR

LD290021 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2141 GMT 28 Feb 84

[Text] San'a', 28 Feb (TANJUG) -- We have great trust in Yugoslavia and feel genuine friendship toward it. Your country never interferes in the internal affairs of other countries. Your stand on the Middle East and the Arab world in general is a stand which we highly value. Moreover, Yugoslavia is one of the founders of the Nonaligned Movement and the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR] has been in the movement since it was founded. This was said to TANJUG in San'a' today by 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, president of the YAR, who stressed that the 2-day visit by Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, will be a crucial point in relations between the two countries. I must say that I feel great satisfaction that a meeting took place at this level during the last few days, the first time at the highest level. This very fact indicates that we are talking here about two friendly and also nonaligned countries who found it easy here in San'a' to find a common language, Salih said.

The Yugoslav side also stressed their satisfaction with the talks over the past 2 days. The two countries' delegations exchanged views on a whole range of international issues. Of course, priority was given to questions concerning the Middle East, the crisis in Lebanon, the Palestinian issue, the Iran-Iraq war, and the activities of the Nonaligned Movement and bilateral cooperation. Today, the last day of the stay in San'a', President Mika Spiljak and his associates talked to the president of the YAR and his associates about the Iran-Iraq war and the possibilities of ending, as they put it, the fratricidal conflict between the two countries. The two sides agreed that it is necessary for the nonaligned countries to undertake urgent action to end this conflict because not only does it harm both Iran and Iraq but its consequences could also be far-reaching for a much broader region than just these two countries. In this connection, it was said that the Nonaligned Movement plays a very responsible role today because it is an irreplaceable factor in the world in solving the many conflict situations. The two delegations also talked today about bilateral cooperation. Their joint view was that not all the possibilities have been exploited in the sphere of economic relations and that cooperation at this level should be expanded. It was agreed to increase commodity exchange which currently amounts to only $5 million, and on the Yemeni side it was suggested that Yugoslav organizations take part in projects in agriculture, and in the infrastructure and building of small industrial enterprises.

At the end of today's talks, Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, invited the president of the YAR to visit Yugoslavia. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

The YAR president gave a private lunch today for the president of the SFRY Presidency at which all the members of the YAR Government were present. Immediately after this, President Mika Spiljak of the SFRY Presidency, together with the members of the delegation, left San'a' for a 2-day official and friendly visit to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The guests from Yugoslavia were seen off at the airport in San'a' by the president of the YAR and the highest-ranking political figures in the country.

Arrival in PDRY

LD290024 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic service in Serbo-Croatian 2123 GMT 28 Feb 84

[Text] Aden, 28 Feb (TANJUG) -- Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, arrived this evening on a 2-day official and friendly visit to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY].

The high-ranking guest from Yugoslavia and the members of the Yugoslav delegation were met at Aden airport by PDRY President 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and prominent political figures of the country. In a short meeting at the airport following a ceremony given for the guests from Yugoslavia, the two presidents expressed the desire for tomorrow's talks to examine comprehensively all questions of common interest.

Mika Spiljak said Yugoslavia and the PDRY are socialist and also nonaligned countries and that this very fact promises that tomorrow's talks will be friendly and substantive.

The head of the Yemeni state gave a formal dinner this evening in honor of the guests from Yugoslavia.

DEFENSE SECRETARY MAMULA ARRIVES IN INDIA

LD281129 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1028 GMT 28 Feb 84

[Text] New Delhi, February 28 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav secretary of defence, Fleet Admiral Branko Mamula arrived today, Tuesday, here on a five-day official visit to India at the invitation of Indian Minister of Defence R. Venkatarman. Mamula and his host today begin official talks on cooperation between the two nonaligned countries armed forces.

Expectations are that the Yugoslav defence secretary will be received by Indian President Zail Singh and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. During his stay in India Mamula will vist military units and institutions in Jhansi and Bombay.

MILATOVIC, PANAMANIAN PRESIDENT LAUD COOPERATION

AU271525 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25/26 Feb 84 p 7

[Text] Panama, 24 Feb (TANJUG) -- Dr Jorge Illueca, president of the Republic of Panama, has received Veljko Milatovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who is making a brief visit to Panama.

During the friendly talks, both sides expressed their satisfaction with the achieved level of political cooperation between the two countries. They expressed support for the efforts to solve the problems of Central America and stressed the importance of the activities of nonaligned countries aimed at stopping the unfavorable trends in political and economic relations and at solving acute world problems.

Milatovic also had meetings and talks with Ortega, minister of foreign affairs; Berta Torrijos, president of the Democratic Revolutionary Party; and Ruben Dario Sousa, secretary general of the People's Party of Panama.

BORBA ON ALBANIAN 'DOUBLE GAME' WITH ITALY

AU281722 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25/26 Feb 84 p 15

[Vladimir Matovic article: "An Exchange of Smiles and Curses"]

[Excerpts] If World War III breaks out, the culprits will be -- so they judge in Tirana -- the Eurocommunists!

Eurocommunists have been an extremely attractive target of Albanian propaganda over the past few weeks. Having cursed the Spanish and the French Communist Parties, Tirana set upon the Italian Communist Party [PCI] with exceptional fury.

Even this news would not be worthy of attention had Tirana this time, in attacking the PCI, not drastically uncovered its well-tested style of "double game." Before we uncover this two-facedness or duplicity, let us see what Tirana actually accuses the PCI of:

First and Second Track

"The aim that the so-called PCI is setting for itself," Tirana radio says, quoting an article in the journal RRUGA E PARTISE, "has been and remains the maintenance of the existing bourgeois system..." There follows a long and tiresome unconvincing explanation of the accusations against the Italian Communists for "class cooperation with the bourgeoisie."

But at the same time, while pronouncing an anathema, official Tirana conducts another, extremely opposite policy: "An exchange of smiles" -- as the Italian press has called it -- with the Italian state, the very same state whose destruction Tirana radio has demanded in its programs, on its "second track."

The Italian newspaper LA REPUBBLICA has been pointing out another paradox,"rapprochement between Italy and Albania precisely at the time when it seems that any dialogue is difficult in old Europe."

Other Italian papers also continue to report on the rapid rise of Italian-Albanian cooperation in many fields. There are more and more articles about Albania as a "discovery for Italy." They do not hide their surprise that "the exchange of smiles" occurred so suddenly.

And thus, in the shadow of past and future purges, discoveries and decoding of the "complex Albanian game" are taking place on the shores of the Adriatic: the exchange of smiles with the Italian state and the anathema pronounced on the Italian Communists for not destroying that same state with revolution.

MORE ON LCY-BA'TH TALKS IN BELGRADE

JN281933 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1615 GMT 28 Feb 84

[Text] Comrade 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, assistant secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, stressed that the United States is unable to impose the American solution and military settlement on Lebanon. He called for dialogue among the Lebanese, the abrogation of the 17 May agreement, and the introduction of reforms into the Lebanese system as the only way to solve the Lebanese problem and preserve the unity, independence, and Arabism of Lebanon.

Comrade Al-Ahmar was talking about the current situation in the Middle East to the LCY delegation headed by Dusan Dragosavac, member of the LCY Presidium and Central Committee, during official talks between the two sides yesterday in Belgrade.

Al-Ahmar stressed that Syria stands by the Lebanese people and their nationalist forces, asserting that Syria is committed to the Palestinian cause and to supporting the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

Comrade Dragosavac stressed Yugoslavia's support of and appreciation for Syria's steadfast stands in the face of Israeli aggression and U.S. plans. He reaffirmed his country's support for the Palestinian Arab people's restoration of their usurped rights and the establishment of their independent state on their national soil. He also called for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from southern Lebanon and from all the occupied Arab territories. The Yugoslav official strongly denounced the 17 May agreement between the Lebanese Government and Israel under U.S. auspices.

MATIC ADDRESSES CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON STABILIZATION

LD281523 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0635 GMT 28 Feb 84

["Peter Matic's Speech at the LCY Central Committee Session" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Feb (TANJUG) -- At its 10th session, the LCY Central Committee asked the Presidium to monitor the activity of implementation of its conclusions and tasks relative to the long-term program of economic stabilization and to keep the Central Committee informed about it. In this connection, the Presidium decided that the Central Committee must be briefed on some important economic and political questions that are significant for the implementation of the tasks pertaining to the long-term program of economic stabilization. In addition, the immediate occasion and the reason for holding the 12th Central Committee session are rather practical, but they do have important political and social dimensions. As you know, the Federal Executive Council [FEC] decision to temporarily freeze prices was circumvented on a frontal scale by a section of basic organizations of associated labor and by a majority of small and large sociopolitical communities, which represents a direct blow against the economic stabilization policy, reproduction trends, and the standard of living -- especially for low-wage earners. There was the threat of this being translated into a major economic, political, and social problem. The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, the Socialist Alliance, and the SFRY Assembly resolutely reacted to that and publically denounced this kind of conduct and practice in our society.

The Presidium decided that important reasons and requirements exist for the LCY Central Committee to be informed adequately about the results of business operations in 1983, the first results of the economic operations at the beginning of 1984, the talks between the delegations from the republics and provinces in the SFRY Assembly at the time when they were adopting the resolution and other program documents for this year, and the delays and inconsistencies in finalizing the 1984 economic policy. At this session, the Central Committee will also be briefed on the latest negotiations with the IMF regarding financial arrangements this year.

Accordingly, it is the objective of this session, on the basis of prepared and submitted information and on the basis of our own knowledge, to critically assess the present situation and the major socioeconomic problems, and to lay down commitments for the activity of the LCY and of all socialist forces in guiding the struggle for economic and social stabilization within the ensuing period. In this situation, the Central Committee should also reaffirm and bring up to date the need for even more resolute struggle for implementing the conclusions adopted at the 9th and 10th Central Committee sessions, which demand resolute implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization. The reason for this is the fact that among many people, the awareness of the need for radical changes in the strategy of development; in conditions and criteria in economic operations; in one's attitude toward work, expenditure, and social resources; and in respecting economic laws and market criteria is still confined mainly to the sphere of principled discussions and verbal support. This approach is far removed from daily practical struggle and implementation of stabilization tasks in many basic and other organizations of associated labor, local communities, sociopolitical communities, and organizations, and all other factors of our society, including many LC organizations and leaderships. The awareness of the social, economic, and ideopolitical significance of these changes and of the dependence of the further successful development of socialist revolution on the ability and the readiness of our society to implement the basic objective of the stabilization program consistently and on time is changing very slowly. This is confirmed by the fact that in 6 out of a total of 12 sessions held since the congress, the Central Committee discussed socioeconomic questions and the policy of stabilization.

The frequency of the discussions on economic topics at Central Committee sessions cannot be explained merely by referring to the gravity of the economic situation but also by the fact that we are inconsistent in the implementation of what had been agreed on in our society and the LCY, the Socialist Alliance, and the delegate assemblies. Hesitation and resistance to accept and bear the burden of economic stabilization are obvious, capable of several interpretations, and not easily overcome. Our task is to establish the reasons for such a situation, especially the reasons for our own conduct in relation to the tasks that have been set. I especially have in mind the fact that in a number of basic organizations of associated labor, self-management interest communities, sociopolitical communities, and other social subjects, a lot of time and effort is wasted in keeping and justifying the existing attitude toward distribution and consumption, which in most cases is a monopoly attitude. Less time is spent in an effort to change the status of associated labor by strengthening its influence on economic policy and conditions of economic operations.

On all aforementioned issues, we took our stand as far back as the conclusions of the third Central Committee session. However, they were not consistently carried out and we are compelled to return to the same questions -- not to analyze the implementation of the conclusions but to reiterate them -- which suggests that we in the LCY and our society are facing the crisis of implementing our own stands and decisions. The session today provides an opportunity for us to say something more and critical about the crisis of consistency and about widespread manifestations of inconsistency in the LCY and in our society in the implementation of our own stands, orientations, social norms, Constitution, and our laws.

I believe that the question of our own inconsistency today is one of the major questions of the LCY ideological, political, and action capability.

In addition, I believe that the Central Committee cannot avoid and refuse to answer the following important questions:

-- Through what processes is socialist self-management going and how is it developing?

-- How is the constitutional position of the working class and of the working people in controlling income and resources of extended reproduction being implemented?

-- To what extent is our current economic policy realistically channelled into the implementation of these objectives?

This means, to what extent do the workers, associated in the basic and other organizations of associated labor make decisions about our socioeconomic development and control reproduction developments? To what extent are they motivated to acquire income, raise labor productivity, strengthen the process of pooling labor and resources? To what extent are they in favor of a self-management integration of the economy in our society?

Of course, the answers to these questions are not uniform or easy. It is even more difficult to fulfill our orientations in this complex and contradictory situation.

However, we must be clear in our mind that this is the only way to establish conditions for implementing the long-term program of economic stabilization and to pave the way to progress and self-management. A change in the situation in keeping with our strategic orientation is possible only by resolutely implementing the stabilization program, strengthening and developing the basis of socialist self-management, and eliminating the disparity between words and deeds, as well as between political orientations and social practice.

Unfortunately, our practice does not always follow our orientations and decisions, and sometimes it even contradicts them.

An example fresh in our minds is the circumvention of the FEC's decision on a temporary price freeze. Many basic organizations of associated labor and a majority of social political communities participated in it with the same ardor, but with a low level of social responsibility. This is grounds for disquiet and concern.

It can be argued whether or not the FEC decision on a price freeze was economically justified, but that cannot justify anyone not carrying it out.

In an organized socialist state community such as Yugoslavia, decisions and laws must be respected and carried out. Whoever is not respecting them must be held accountable. In this connection, I think that it is unacceptable for the LCY that those responsible for avoiding the decision on the price freeze were not publicly censured, punished, or replaced. This cannot be considered normal. Apart from this point, there is reason for concern that in a section of our society, and even in some organizations of associated labor, the conviction is spreading that work is less and less a vehicle, and the usurpation of other people's work is more and more a vehicle for acquiring a high income.

The notion is untenable that responsibility for the economic and social stability of the country should be borne by someone other than associated workers and sociopolitical communities, especially by socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, which quite rightly concern themselves with their rights. They do not concern themselves to the same extent with their responsibility for the situation, and relations in the economy and our society as a whole. If this were to continue, it could become a major problem for the LCY from the point of view of its responsibility for the unity of the country and for the further development of the socialist self-management system.

In this connection, I should particularly like to draw attention to the fact that our working people and citizens are beginning to be seriously beset by doubts about our readiness, ability, and consistency to successfully implement the policy, laws, and decisions agreed on through our self-management process. Our inconsistency and lack of resolution, manifested in a number of situations, is impairing confidence in the institutions of our state and society, and in the leadership of the LCY and the country as a whole.

In difficult and complex internal and external conditions, social action produced significant economic results in certain spheres of social reproduction last year. Thanks primarily to the self-sacrificing work of workers in many manufacturing, basic, and other organizations of associated labor, a fall in industrial production was halted and production increased by 1.3 percent. Good results have also been achieved in agricultural production, which fell by about 2 percent in 1983. Considerable quantities of food have been produced and a record 3.7 million metric tons of wheat purchased, while the supply of food improved.

The process of restructuring the economy toward an increase in the production intended for export and for substituting imports has started, although the pace is slow. Exports to the convertible currency area increased by 13 percent. Exports in 1983 covered 83 percent of imports, and 78 percent of imports from the convertible currency area. It is estimated that the country's balance of payments in 1983 will be in the black by about $300 million. We met our obligations to international financial organizations on time and preserved our foreign liquidity, although faced with exceptionally difficult conditions. Considerable revenue from tourism has been realized.

Employment has increased by about 2 percent, which is very good, but not enough if we want to solve this very acute economic and social problem more rapidly. Positive, but not resolute enough changes in reducing investment and general expenditure and expenditure on welfare services have been noticed.

The main burden of changes and of exacerbated conditions in economic operations in 1983 was carried by the economy. The material position of a great number of organizations of associated labor has worsened considerably. The share of the economy in income distribution for the 9-month period fell by 61.4 percent in 1982 and to 58.4 per cent in 1983. [sentence as received] In this situation, the interest rates the economy is paying for bank loans are only 8 percent less than the portion of the net income that organizations of associated labor have earmarked for expansion of their material basis. Associated labor, especially in production, has been drastically impoverished and its accumulative-reproductive ability reduced. As a consequence, one of the basic prerequisites of socialist self-management -- strengthening of the material basis of associated labor -- is not being implemented. However, in such unfavorable conditions, a considerable section of the economy has achieved a more rapid growth of funds for strengthening the material basis than the growth of personal income, which is exceptionally important in this situation.

The liquidity of the economy and of banks has worsened considerably. Many organizations of associated labor have great difficulties in paying personal income. The economies of some republics and provinces are faced with the exceptional financial difficulties. There is an increase in the number of unpaid bills in the economy and banks. Losses are increasing and are about 75 percent above the preceding year. The level of exchange rates and short-term credits is extremely high. Many basic organizations of associated labor and banks, as well as the budgets of some sociopolitical communities -- municipalities, republics, and provinces -- are often frozen. The lack of internal liquidity has become a major economic and political problem and demands an urgent solution.

The policy of the "sliding" exchange rate of the dinar has had a positive effect on exports, but has also caused big problems. In the absence of other stabilization measures, the value of the dinar fell sharply. In relation to foreign convertible currencies, it was down 84-101 percent. In the absence of a comprehensive and realistic exchange rate policy, this pace in the "sliding" of the dinar was inevitably in inverse proportion to inflation, prices, and cost of living.

For our economy and our society, inflation represents an extremely great problem. It is for this reason that eliminating the causes and consequences of inflation is of paramount importance and is assuming distinct social and class characteristics. We are aware of the events surrounding the FEC's price freeze decision. A necessary measure, which was primarily aimed at reducing inflation, was torpedoed before it had any effect. Instead of a struggle for production, which is characterized by better quality and higher level of output, and for the accomplishment of other tasks laid down by the resolution and long-term program of economic stabilization, prominence was given to the aspirations to solve one's own difficulties and shortcomings in economic operations by increasing prices. This is not where real solutions lie.

The gravest consequence of all this is that the confidence of working people and citizens in the functioning and capability of the institutions of our self-management system has been seriously undermined. In addition to the political harm that has been done, it has been shown that we are still far from winning the ideological struggle for stabilization of economic trends and that there is a lack of unity and responsibility in our country which is necessary to implement the conclusions of the LCY and of the policy jointly agreed upon in the federation.

Real personal income of those employed in the social sector has been falling for the 4th year now. Worse affected are workers and families with low personal income, especially those who depend exclusively on personal income. Another reason is that many solutions in the stabilization program, particularly those concerning distribution according to work and tax policy, either have not been worked out or are not being implemented.

The principle that the burden of stabilization should be distributed evenly among all the strata of our society commensurate with their material possibilities is not being carried out. Social differences are growing larger in conditions of aggravated economic problems, especially resulting from rapid growth of prices and inflation, and a decline in real wages and the standard of living over a period of many years. There are quite a few people in our society who live well and do not do much work. There is also a great number of those who have a high income as a result of various speculations they undertake. Our working people and citizens criticize the delays in adopting measures that will more resolutely shift the burden of stabilization to those strata of our population that live beyond the real possibilities of our society, especially beyond the results of their work.

Despite obvious good results, the economic trends in 1983 are fraught with negative tendencies. In stressing this, I bear in mind that the development of socialist self-management is coming up against many obstacles and difficulties. The conventional credit relations have remained the basis of extended reproduction, which is controlled by factors outside associated labor that are supported by banks and their capital. The difficult conditions of economic operations in 1983, coupled with the deteriorating material basis of the economy and many subjective shortcomings within the organizations of associated labor, were responsible for many basic protagonists of the policy of economic stabilization being forced to desist from its consistent implementation. The reform of the present relations in the way we run our economy and in our conduct was slowed down. In some cases, the people desisted from establishing income-based relations, pooling labor and resources, and implementing the measures that had been passed. Many organizations of associated labor shut themselves off within narrow territorial borders.

Counter to social orientations, the administrative way of running socioeconomic relations is increasing both at a federal level and in the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, encouraging consolidation of bureaucratic and technocratic forces, which must be resolutely curbed. This practice is preventing organizations of associated labor from behaving as independent economic and business factors. Instead of regulating production and distribution relations on the unified Yugoslav market and along the line of reciprocal reproduction links on the basis of general and sound conditions of economic operations and along self-management lines, they are increasingly tied down to the decisions and measures passed by state organs that charter the future of organizations of associated labor. This is particularly evident in extended reproduction because appropriate systemic solutions and economic incentives for a free and democratic self-management integration of labor and of social resources do not exist.

When there is no self-management integration of labor and resources, the contradiction between social labor organized on self-management lines and the way we manage our social resources is of necessity expressed in group-ownership monopoly which, parallel with the existing state-ownership and technocratic-management monopolies and together with them, becomes one with a political state system. The LCY is facing the immediate task of developing and establishing the kind of system of economic and political relations among the working people that will be based on self-management use of resources for production in social ownership, especially in the sphere of extended reproduction.

The resolution for 1984 and the appropriate accompanying document were adopted on time, which created the basic conditions but not all necessary conditions for economic operations this year. Considerable experience was gained in coordinating the resolution. Despite the shortcomings, pressure, imposition of conditions and the like, the delegate system showed itself to be capable of devising solutions for our country's problems.

An essential shortcoming of this positive practice is the absence of a strong influence of the interests and needs of associated labor on delegate assemblies at all levels of decisionmaking.

The LCY must resolutely operate to ensure this practice is changed so that the assemblies can develop as the central points of the workers, class, and self-management negotiations.

A characteristic feature of the resolution for our 1984 economic policy is the fact that it is based on the long-term program of economic stabilization and ideopolitical orientations of the LCY. This assessment loses a great deal of its impact when the principled orientations of the resolution get their concrete form through solutions, measures, and instruments. Major disruptions in economic developments and in reproductions trends, and also the pressure brought to bear by specific interests of the republics and provinces and by individual sections of the economy, as well as by our inconsistency, have made it difficult for the SFRY Assembly, the FEC, and the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy to devise economic policies and measures which could further strengthen the social ownership foundations of self-management and high-quality factors of economic operations -- along the line of the consistent implementation of the stabilization problem.

Apart from the above, it should be emphasized that the list of outstanding questions which have to be resolved to finalize our economic policy for this year is long. The systemic solutions in the area of prices, planning, extended reproduction, the banking, credit, and monetary system and taxation policy, the system of the income distribution, and some other areas has to be improved and further developed. All these issues are inherent in the conclusions of the 10th session of the LCY Committee. It was said then, 4 months ago, that there are delays in work on these measures and the task was set to speed up the work in order to establish all the prerequisites for implementing the policy of economic stabilization in 1984 and to provide a basis for eliminating the constantly growing inflation.

In improving the solutions pertaining to our system, we must consistently proceed from the ideological and constitutional principles and stabilization program. The measures to gradually halt the serious upheavals in reproductions trends, which have become . administrative interventions, have only partly suppressed, but were unable to do away with, the causes of deep-seated disruptions in reproduction developments. Therefore, one of our most important and the most difficult task now is to improve the laws pertaining to our system. In so doing, we must work out the most important solutions envisaged by the long-term economic stabilization program. In addition, appropriate institutions have to be involved as a matter of urgency in the elaboration of key questions of the second stage of the long-term economic stabilization program.

The outstanding questions of our economic policy include those whose principled solutions must be worked out through the mechanisms and instruments of the economic system and the economic policy: establishment and elaboration of a comprehensive program of financial consolidation of the economy, banks, and other subjects, that is to say a program to solve dinar liquidity, establish a system for financing the federation in keeping with the economic stabilization program, and elaborate the mechanisms and measures to provide an incentive for a self-management integration of the economy on the basis of pooling labor and resources.

Also, we must eliminate the difficulties standing in the way of the function of the unified Yugoslav market, devise measures to bring down inflation, elaborate the mechanism for the functioning of the modified foreign currency legislation, devise solutions to the problems of foreign currency compensation payments and of exchange rate differences, implement an active policy of a realistic dinar exchange rate and a program of measures in that direction, solve problems in the functioning of the unified foreign currency market, and introduce a functional depreciation policy in order to secure technological progress. A great number of laws and other regulations, social accords, and self-management agreements have to be adopted, therefore, in order to secure the necessary stability in our economic operations.

It is increasingly obvious that the implementation of the long-term economic stabilization program is a very complex and difficult process. We came up against many difficulties last year when formulating and implementing our economic policy. This is happening at the beginning of this year, too. The conflict of interests among the socialist republics, socialist autonomous provinces, and associated labor concerning the application of the modified foreign currency law is an example of such difficulties. It is obvious that the solutions on the basis of the stabilization program impinge deeply on many present material relations, interests, acquired rights, habits, methods of economic operations and conduct, and especially on the monopoly position on individual social subjects. The implementation of this program, as was said at one of the Central Committee sessions, signifies a unique reform in the economy and in our society along the line of economic criteria in managing our social resources and in socialist self-management in the direction of strengthening the social position of the workers class and of the working people in associated labor.

The dividing line between those who are in favor of the consistent implementation of the long-term program and those who are against it does not lie in declaring oneself for or against the program but in actually contributing to its implementation. There are different forms of resistance to the stabilization policy. They are visible and are extended not only by those who have a bureaucratic, technocratic, or similar monopoly in management of income and other social resources but also by those sections of the economy and society that have a privileged position in the social division of labor and distribution and are satisfied with the state remaining as the arbiter in the sphere of production and distribution. This leads to much hesitation and wavering regarding more decisive measures and moves being made to consistently implement the program of stabilization and the ideopolitical orientations of the LCY.

What is exceptionally important in these conditions is the attitude contained in the conclusions of the 10th session of the LCY Central Committee which binds communists, organizations, and leaderships of the LCY in organs and organizations in the federation, republics, provinces, and organizations of associated labor to fight for the economic stabilization policy. This is the condition for moving out more speedily from the difficulties that have arisen and to allow further space for the development of socialist self-management. The time is here and so is the obligation to confirm in practice our resolve to implement consistently the long-term economic stabilization program. The LCY must bear in mind, today more than ever, that the trust of the working class and of the broadest social strata is not secured by proclaiming lofty ideas such as freedom, national equality, socialism, and self-management but by the consistent struggle for their realization. This means the realization of LCY policy and of other social orientations within the framework of real material and general social conditions.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that views are often presented about major issues of our socialist self-managing system and socioeconomic development -- at various gatherings, public speaking forums, and by a section of information media -- which are not in line with the development of socialist self-managing relations.

Sometimes they are even directly opposed to the constitutional and political foundations of our system. Hence, what is at stake here is not to dispute criticism that points out our weaknesses: lack of organization, absence of economic and other criteria in economic activity, supremacy of autarchy in republics, provinces, municipalities, and associated labor, and among etatist-technocratic forces that are its exponents, and such like. Something quite different is involved. This is a queston of more or less vociferous public demands for curbing self-management and the constitutional position of workers in associated labor and for diminishing the role of organizations of associated labor and the principle of pooling labor and resources. One manifestation of this is also to challenge the LCY program orientations. In the face of such ideas and demands, the LCY must not be a passive observer and must even tolerate them in its own ranks. In the same vein, the LCY must not remain indifferent to the justified criticism of individual elements of the system, many economic measures, and our inconsistency in practice. With such an attitude, certain disagreements about whether the LCY is open to criticism will be removed. At the same time it should be stated clearly that the foundations of the socialist self-managing system and the federal system of Yugoslavia cannot be an object of challenge.

In this connection, it cannot be considered normal that many pages of the press and public-speaking forums -- the founders and organizers of which are sociopolitical organizations -- are in a considerable number of cases given over to individuals and groups that are against these fundamental social orientations. This is not a question of democracy but of its class content and of the further course of our revolution. Apart from this, in many debates in our society there is too strong a tendency of negating everything. This is also present in the LCY, including among its leaders. In challenges and criticism, the real LCY line is often lost sight of and fails to be recognizable. This happens mostly by workers who are justifiably critical of the existing situation and relations and who know full well that we need criticism, but who want to know always and precisely the path and the direction in which we are going. This basic direction of the entire social action has been laid down in the documents of the 12th LCY Congress, the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee, and the long-term economic stabilization program. LCY members, particularly the leading LCY cadres, must defend and implement this direction.

Implementation of the tasks stemming from the long-term economic stabilization program is the most important political task, which we must realize resolutely and concretely without retreats and hesitation. Our economic situation at the beginning of the year continues to be exceptionally complex and calls for great efforts and responsible behavior conducive to the implementation of tasks defined by the 1984 economic policy. Some positive trends are noticeable in the economic activity. Through efforts made by the working people in organizations of associated labor, industrial production in January this year, when compared with January last year, significantly increased by 4.3 percent despite the severe problem of supplies of raw and reproduction material. Exports to the convertible currency area were increased by 55 percent in January while imports were reduced by 22 percent.

The high rise in inflation, prices, and the cost of living has continued. Only 92 percent of the autumn sowing plan has been carried out so far. A fairly high increase in revenue of general and joint consumption and of personal incomes and investments has been carried over from the last quarter of last year. Due to the high cost of living, the tendency of reducing real personal incomes has continued this year. All other major problems of last year are also being manifested at the beginning of this year, and special efforts are needed to ensure the necessary conditions for economic activity. Communists in all organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities should be the initiators and proponents of the implementation of tasks of the economic policy this year, and they should mobilize all working people and citizens and all social structures for this activity.

What is necessary in implementing the tasks of the 1984 economic policy is even greater activity and more efficient cooperation between the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions, the Socialist Youth Federation, the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, the SFRY Assembly, the FEC, and other organs and organizations of the federation, the republics, provinces, and municipalities.

What should be the foundation of implementing the 1984 economic stabilization policy is the policy of maximum reliance on our own resources. We have specifically determined the essence of this policy in the conclusions of the 10th session of the LCY Central Committee. Our task is to advocate that such a policy be worked out in detail and implemented at all levels. This has been done only partially up to now. In realizing this policy, we must do everything possible this year and in the years to come to activate and rationally use our natural, material, human, and other potentials, and to commit all social factors, but also to use the advantages of the system of social property relations to achieve continuity in growth in production and in the entire economic activity on high-quality foundations.

This also means continued orientation toward more resolute, but organized, participation in the international division of labor, considerable increase in production for exports, in particular to the convertible currency area, ensuring regular payment of foreign loans, and building a modern economic structure. It is only with such a policy that we can provide opportunities to increase productive employment of young and professional people, affirming, in the broadest sense, work and creativity, development and use of scientific and technical achievements.

What represents the essential foundation of this policy are our constant endeavors to strengthen the income-based motivation of workers in basic organizations of associated labor, to pool labor and resources, to engage in joint economic activity and to develop more rapidly income-based relations. We have not yet made a change in the direction of encouraging and spreading the momentum of self-management and the pooling of labor and resources, commodities, work, and professional knowledge on the unified Yugoslav market. In the present complex conditions, we must constantly make practical moves that will lead to changes in these spheres, thus strengthening the ability of the self-managing system to ensure economically rational production and to resolve the contradictions of social development. What is particularly significant is the continued pooling of labor and resources aimed at faster developing the insufficiently developed republics, particularly the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

To work out and affirm the concept of reliance on one's own resources is not a concept of economic autarchy. It represents both a broad and comprehensive cooperation of our economy with the economies of other countries on an equitable basis. This also implies the use of resources from abroad in the form of foreign loans and credits on mutually beneficial terms. Negotiations with the IMF and the consortium of world business banks about new credit arrangements for 1984 are in progress. The Central Committee will be informed today of the course of these negotiations. In addition to what has been mentioned, it is my duty to inform members of the Central Committee that intensive work is in progress to prepare a variant of the economic development -- without financial arrangement with the IMF and other international financial organizations. For such conditions of economic development, too, which would be exceptionally difficult, a development perspective and the continuity of the economic activity and social reproduction on the foundations of self-management will be determined and ensured. The basis of such a policy is maximum reliance on our own resources.

By waging a constant struggle to increase production and exports, on the basis of high-quality economic activity, it is necessary to do everything possible to determine and realize as soon as possible relevant measures aimed at consolidating the financial situation in the economy and the banks and changes in relations to benefit association labor and to strengthen its reproductive and accumulative abilities.

In line with the long-term economic stabilization program, the economic policy must create room to maneuver for organizations of associated labor and for them to operate in new and more difficult conditions of business activity.

The slow resolution of these problems is unacceptable. The responsibility for a way out of this situation and for ensuring favorable conditions for the economy must be borne, in addition to the FEC and other federal organs, by socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, municipalities, and banks.

One of the immediate tasks is to urgently define a comprehensive and concrete concept of a way out of the price freeze and of a control mechanism after the freeze is lifted, and to take efficient measures which will ensure that prices remain within socially acceptable frameworks which will stimulate production in line with the stabilization policy. A free for all in prices must not be allowed. Relevant organs, organizations, and all leaderships today are under a great test of their ability and responsibility to implement that which has been jointly agreed and decided. We must pass this test.

Each of the issues of which I have spoken affect most directly the activity and the role of the LCY. For the LCY, the stabilization policy represents the foremost and crucial political task. To implement its role in carrying out the stabilization policy, the LCY must also radically alter its method of work and behavior. Practice shows that the stabilization policy cannot be implemented by pursuing forum-like work which has been inherited from the times and types of relations when the party, together with the state, managed the economy and social resources.

Communists must be constantly among workers, the working people, and citizens, and together with them must wage the struggle for economic stabilization. This applies equally to all members of LCY leaderships and in particular to us in central and provincial committees of the LCY. In this sense, this year is truly a great test of the responsibility for all LCY members because a crucial battle is being waged to implement the economic stabilization policy and to blaze further trails of development of socialist self-management.

A positive outcome of this battle depends on us in the LCY, above all on our unity, readiness, and resolve to fight to implement the policy and goals which we have jointly determined and adopted in the LCY and in society. This is, in addition to the economic difficulties which are both evident and major, both a problem and task of foremost importance for the LCY and our Central Committee. The LCY Central Committee must also give its view of and attitude toward this today.

In the LCY and in society, in this complex economic situation, we must have a higher degree of unity and greater activity as a whole. We must rid ourselves more quickly and more resolutely of the strongly present consciousness and practice which encourages our divisions on the basis of opposite interests, provincial criteria, and scopes of self-management and which thus diminishes its universal values and unity in joint interests. The Central Committee should assess, at this or at one of the forthcoming sessions, how much the problems existing in our country are caused by such an understanding of socialist self-management and relations and what threat they represent for the unity of the LCY and the country.

Last, allow me to mention only some of our immediate tasks:

1. To adopt and work out without hesitation or procrastination concrete systemic solutions and measures of the economic and development policy in 1984 to implement the first stage of the long-term economic stabilization program.

2. The continuity and further growth in production and exports, particularly to the convertible currency area, must be ensured through all available resources and actions in order to create the necessary conditions for the gradual stabilization of economic trends and for the solution of all the essential problems of significance for the stability and economic development of the country.

3. To embark on the broadest social action and create step by step, with every measure and activity, conditions to strengthen the material base of associated labor and further breakthroughs in the development of socialist self-management socioeconomic relations.

4. The exports of commodities and services, by their volume and quality, must receive even stronger social support as well as economic coercion. In such an orientation, everything possible must be done by the FEC, the SFRY Assembly, the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, socialist republics, socialist autonomous provinces, as well as municipalities to eliminate gradually, by spreading and strengthening the links in the chain of reproduction inside associated labor, the practice of exporting goods -- raw materials, reproduction materials, food, and other products -- which we are importing at the same time. We must also eliminate the unscrupulous mutual competition by organizations of associated labor on the foreign market, at a price which must be paid dearly by the SFRY not only with hundreds of millions of dollars but also with a practice which strengthens economic particularism also inside the economies of the socialist republics, socialist autonomous provinces, and municipalities and further encourages a lack of organization and even haphazardness in the development of economic ties between economic subjects and the world.

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE -- Belgrade, 27 Feb (TANJUG) -- Boris Snuderl, delegate in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, has been appointed SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of France, by a decree issued by the SFRY Presidency. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1440 GMT 27 Feb 84 LD]

NEW COPPER ORE DEPOSIT -- Majdanpek [Serbia], 20 Feb (TANJUG) -- According to estimates, the new deposit of copper ore at the Majdanpek mine contains some 430,000 metric tons of copper. The preparatory work for opening this mine has already begun. It is expected that the new mine will yield some 12,000 metric tons of copper per year. [Summary] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Feb 84 p 12 AU]

POWER SHORTAGE IN MACEDONIA -- Skopje, 21 Feb -- Although the electricity supply situation in Macedonia is somewhat better at the beginning of this year than it was at the end of last year, it is still not normal. Macedonia is forced to buy electric power daily from other producers and to import it from the USSR and Albania. The Negotino thermoelectric power plant has not been operating for 2 weeks because of a shortage of heavy oil. Some 300,000 metric tons of heavy oil are needed for this power plant alone. Because of differences in prices, electric power obtained from other power systems causes great losses to the Macedonian electricity generating industry. [Summary] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 84 p 12 AU]

KOSOVO UNEMPLOYMENT -- Despite efforts made in all directions, the question of unemployment in Kosovo remains complicated. According to the latest data, 91,000 people are seeking employment. Some 14,000 people found work in 1983, of which about 5,400 were employed in jobs of a seasonal nature. About 8,000 to 9,000 people more than last year are expected to be employed in the province in 1984. [Summary] [Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 Feb 84 AU]